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I.—OBJECT-PRONOUNS IN DEPENDENT CLAUSES: A STUDY IN OLD SPANISH WORD-ORDER.

INTRODUCTION.

I. DEFINITION OF TITLE.

The title of this work, *Object-Pronouns in Dependent Clauses: A Study in Old Spanish Word-Order*, is perhaps too inclusive. The investigation concerns itself only with the phenomenon which I shall call *interpolation*. Throughout this study, *interpolation* will be used to mean the interpolation, between an unstressed object-pronoun and its following governing verb, of another word or other words, not unstressed object-pronouns in similar construction. In Old Spanish this phenomenon is almost without exception confined to dependent clauses, *i. e.*, clauses that begin with a subordinating conjunction, a relative pronoun, or a relative adverb with conjunctional force.

II. Previous Notices of Interpolation.

Interpolation is merely mentioned by Diez, but with no attempt to determine the conditions of its occurrence.[1] I find the next reference in Reinhardstoettner's *Grammatik der portugiesischen Sprache* (1878), s. 391.[2] Paul Foerster, in his *Spanische Sprachlehre* (1880) merely distinguishes interpolation as of two sorts, the first with then egative particle, the second with other words.[3] R. Thurneysen (*Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, XVI (1892), ss. 289–307, *Zur Stellung des Verbums im Altfranzösischen*) discusses the position of unstressed words and seeks to prove that the latter tend to become enclitic to the first stressed word of the sentence or clause. Incidentally he mentions interpolation in Old Spanish and Portuguese and raises the question whether the cases of it are archaisms or innovations.[4] Emil Gessner (*Zeitschr.*, XVII (1893), ss. 1–54, *Das spanische Personalpronomen*) briefly notices the phenomenon without, however, defining the syntactical conditions of its occurrence. His notice is chiefly valuable for its chronological data with regard to the disappearance of interpolation in Spanish.[5] S. Gräfenberg (*Rom. Forsch.*, VII (1893), s. 547) in the grammatical notes

[1] Trennung vom Verbum kommt nur in Asp. und überhaupt im Pg. vor. *Grammatik*, III[4], s. 467.

[2] Vor allem war die Stellung der Pronomina eine bei weitem freiere. Trennung des verbundenen Personalpronomens von seinem Verbum ist nicht selten z. B. Todo o mal que *te* eu fazia.

[3] *Lib. cit.*, s. 294, § 403: Stellung des Pronomen conjunctum: 1) Unmittelbar vor dem Verbum; die Negation vor dem Pronomen, altsp. aber auch zwischen Pron. und Verbum. 2) Im Altsp. auch getrennt: *se lo tu mandasses. . . .*

[4] *Loc. cit.*, s. 302: Ueber Ausnahmen im Asp. u. Pg. s. Diez. Sind es alte Erbstücke oder Neuerungen?

[5] *Loc. cit.*, s. 34: Das Gesetz, dass die tonlosen Pronominalobjekte in unmittelbarer Verbindung mit dem Verb. stehen müssen, gilt auch für die span. Sprache in ihrer gegenwärtigen Gestalt. Früher war sie daran

to his edition of Don Juan Manuel's *Libro del Cavallero et del Escudero* mentions the postposition of the particle *non* to the object-pronoun but does not notice any other variety of interpolation.[1]

Meyer-Lübke (*Zeitschr. f. rom. Ph.*, XXI (1897), ss. 313–334, *Zur Stellung der tonlosen Objektspronomina im Romanischen*) maintains with Thurneysen that unstressed object-pronouns were originally always enclitic and considers interpolation in Old Spanish and Portuguese to be a survival of Latin usage. He also attempts to define the syntactical categories in which interpolation usually occurs.[2] In the

nicht gebunden, sondern schob unbedenklich die verschiedensten Satzteile (Subjekt, Objekt, Vokativ, Negation, Adverbialbesimmung [*sic*], präpositionelle Kasus) zwischen Pron. und Zeitwort, wenn letzteres nachfolgte.

Diese altspan. keineswegs ungewöhnliche, in einzelnen Denkmalen fast mit Vorliebe gewählte Vorstellung erhält sich bis tief in das 15. Jahrh. hinein; mit dem 16. aber verschwindet sie. Wenigstens habe ich sie in den von mir benutzten Quellen aus dieser Zeit nicht mehr beobachtet; die *Celestina* hat keinen Fall der Trennung mehr; sehr stark vertreten jedoch ist sie noch im *Amadis*, der auch in diesem Punkte wieder seine oben erwähnte Eigentümlichkeit bekundet.

[1] Die Negation *non* steht im Nsp. vor dem persönlichen Fürwort, im Asp. oft hinter ihm.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, ss. 314–5: Beachtenswert ist, was Gessner nicht erwähnt [?], dass, wenn dem Verbum zwei Wörter vorausgehen, das Pronomen im asp. Alexander zum ersten, also nicht unmittelbar vor das Verbum treten kann. . . . Daneben findet sich aber die übliche Stellung ebenso oft. . . . Wenn also der Alexander wirklich von Berceo herstammt, so scheint in der bisher veröffentlichten Hs. auch die Wortfügung umgestaltet worden zu sein, wofür man *Fijo vos yo vos bendigo* 172a anführen könnte. Das zu untersuchen und überhaupt das Verhältniss der beiden Stellungen darzulegen wird die Aufgabe des künftigen Herausgebers des Alexanders sein.

Ss. 315 ff.: Für die alte [portugiesische] Sprache kann man kurzweg sagen: Das Objektspronomen folgt dem ersten Worte des Satzes, *e* und *mas* zählen dabei nicht als selbständige Wörter. . . . Der Satz beginnt mit einer Konj. oder einem Relativum, dann folgen Subjekt und Verbum, das Pronomen steht vor dem Subjekt. . . Zwischen der den satzeinleitenden [*sic*] Partikel oder dem Subjekt und dem Verbum steht ein Adverbium *nõ*, *tanto*, *assim*, u. dgl., das Pron. tritt vor dieses Adv. . . . Mit einer offenbaren Störung der ursprünglichen Ordnung haben wir es zu thun in Fällen wie *asi Deus*

Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen, III, s. 764, § 715, Meyer-Lübke sums up the argument of the *Zeitschrift* article but omits all reference to the syntactical categories.[1]

me . . ., se Deus me, que Deus nom a . . ., pois eu vollo. . . . Die Beispiele bleiben aber trotzdem bei weitem in der Minderzahl und scheinen sich auf bestimmte Fälle zu beschränken, so haben wir fast stets *Deus* oder eine Personalbezeichnung oder ein Personalpronomen, das nun das Objektspronomen von der einleitenden Konj. weg und nach sich zieht.

Ss. 318–9 : Es wäre ein interessantes Unternehmen, nachzuweisen wie viel von den alten Regeln bis heute geblieben ist, die Ausnahmen in alter Zeit zusammenzustellen und zu erklären, die allmähliche Umgestaltung zu verfolgen. . . . Auch die altportugiesische Orthographie verdient eine sorgfältige Beachtung. Wenn geschrieben wird *eute leixey ja, eu cuidava quete avia leixado, efoi peralhe chagar*, wozu man noch die oben stets nach der Vorlage gedruckten Beispiele nehme, so kann das doch nicht Zufall sein, sondern zeigt deutlich, dass für das alte Sprachgefühl die Pronomina Enklitika waren. Wenn neben unzähligen derartigen Schreibungen nun auch gelegentlich vorkommt *como olevarom, que oposerom*, so wird man diesen Ausnahmen kaum Bedeutung beilegen.

Das Grundprinzip, das für die Stellung der tonlosen Objekts-pronomina im Portugiesischen massgebend ist, ist offenbar das folgende: Die Pronomina sind enklitisch, sie werden an ein schon ausgesprochenes Wort angehängt und zwar womöglich an das erste des Satzes. Lässt sich *quero te comprir* Rom. IX, 442 aus einer Abneigung gegen tonlose Wörter im Satzanfange erklären, so ist damit doch noch nicht gesagt, weshalb es nicht heisst *quero comprirte.* Und wollte man sich mit der Annahme behelfen, dass das Pronomen sich proklitisch mit dem Verbum, zu dem es Objekt sei, verbinde, daher man sage *quero te-comprir* wie *que te-leixey*, so würde dagegen nicht nur die alte Schreibweise Einsprache erheben, sondern es blieben die Mehrzahl der oben angeführten Sätze, wie *que te eu . . ., que o nõ . . .* u. s. w. völlig unerklärt. Formuliert man dagegen die Regel so, wie es eben geschehen ist, so lösen sich sofort alle Schwierigkeiten. Die Sache scheint mir so in die Augen springend zu sein und sich so unmittelbar aus dem alten Sprachgebrauche und aus dem alten Schreibgebrauche zu ergeben, dass viele Worte gar nicht mehr nötig sind. Dass auch ein Teil des span. Sprachgebietes dieselben Regeln befolgt, ergiebt sich aus den s. 314 aus dem Alexander angeführten Stellen. . . .

[1] *Grammatik*, III, s. 764, § 715: Im Gegensatz zu den bisher genannten Wörtern sind die Objektspronomina, zu denen natürlich auch die Adverbien *ibi* und *inde* gerechnet werden können, ursprünglich enklitisch. Ist das Objekt eines Verbums in vorhergegangener Rede schon genannt, so ist es nicht immer nötig, es zu wiederholen, kann es ja doch unter

I have found only one reference to interpolation from a Peninsular source. This is in Rodríguez's *Apuntes Gramaticales* in the edition of the Galician *Crónica Troyana*.[1] With this conclude all the notices of interpolation that I have been able to discover.

III. Outline of Investigation.

The investigation concerns itself, as has been stated, with the history of interpolation in Spanish texts. The theory

Umständen den Sprechenden noch so lebendig vor Augen stehen, dass eine andere Beziehung des Verbums ausgeschlossen ist. Es kann aber auch der Deutlichkeit wegen darauf zurückgewiesen werden mit einem, eben des unselbständigen Begriffs wegen tonlosen Worte, einem Worte, das seine Stellung möglichst weit vorne im Satze hat, da es die Verbindung mit dem Voraufgegangenen festhalten soll. So sagt man im Lateinischen *ámo te* nicht *te ámo*, *per te deos obsecro*, *quo tu me modo voles esse* u. s. w. Am besten hat sich diese lateinische Stellung im Altspanischen und im Altportugiesischen erhalten, übrigens dort in geringerem Umfange als hier, sofern nämlich z. B. bei Berceo fast keine Spuren ausser den gemeinromanischen zu finden sind, wohl aber der Cid, der Alexander, D. Juan Manuel u. a. viele Beispiele zeigen, in späterer Zeit auch noch der Amadis, wo man allerdings an den Einfluss des portugiesischen Originals denken könnte. Man sagt also aspan. *en guisa que la non pierda. . . .* Ausgeprägter noch ist also die Enklise im Altportugiesischen: *lo filho que lhes Deus dara. . . .* Neigungen, das Pronomen mit dem Verbum zu verbinden, fehlen nun allerdings auch hier nicht, vgl. *asi Deus me conselhe . . .*, namentlich bei pronominalem Subjekte: *que eu a descobro, . . .* u. a. Aber diese Fälle sind doch bedeutend in der Minderheit, und wenn das Portugiesische in seiner historischen Entwickelung allmählich einen Wandel durchgemacht hat, der in den Schwestersprachen schon vor Beginn der Litteratur fast abgeschlossen war, so ist doch bis heute die alte Stellung namentlich in negierten *que*-Sätzen oder in mit *e*, *já* beginnenden geblieben, ohne freilich Regel zu sein, vgl. *os dous irmãos não se achavam . . .* neben *uma lucta que o não deixou repousar*.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 44: Si intervienen dos ó más palabras, y entre ellas algún adverbio negativo, las primeras inician la frase, á continuación todas las partículas pronominales por orden de preferencia, colocando los negativos inmediatamente antes del verbo, v. g.: *Que os nõ podo acadar*, *Nen foy home quella nunca oýsse dizer*, etc.

of the subject will be discussed, as far as it seems practicable to do so, in a briefer Second Part, following the historical exposition.

Preceding the First Part and forming the last division of this Introduction, there is a *List of Texts* in which are discussed all questions of date, authorship, manuscripts, editions and dialect, these matters being excluded from the main body of the article. The works described in the *List of Texts* are arranged according to the approximate date of composition. Galician and Portuguese texts are arranged chronologically after the Spanish texts. The numbering adopted in the *List of Texts* is followed also in the *Appendix*.

The First Part of the present work aims to cover the history of interpolation in Spanish writings of the XIII, XIV, and XV centuries, studying the rise, development and decay of the phenomenon. Galician and Portuguese texts are studied only as they throw light on the subject of interpolation in Castilian. The large body of illustrative material which accompanies the First Part is relegated to an *Appendix*. The arrangement of the latter is explained in a note prefixed to Chapter I.

The discussion in the first four chapters of Part One of interpolation in the texts will attempt to show that it is a phenomenon hardly appearing in Castilian texts before the latter part of the XIII century and then probably due to western influence. It will be shown, also, that it is most prevalent in works of the courtly school of Alfonso X. and his successors and least frequent in works farthest removed from the influence of that school. The syntactical conditions of its occurrence in Castilian are differentiated from those in Galician and Portuguese, and the periods of its decline and disappearance are fixed as closely as possible.

The Second Part begins with a critical discussion of the

theory of primitive enclisis of pronoun objects in Romance as developed by Thurneysen and Meyer-Lübke. Then follows a section dealing with Portuguese word order and making it appear probable that enclisis of the pronoun to other words than the verb is a phenomenon peculiar to the western portion of the Iberian Peninsula and not a relic of universal Vulgar Latin usage. A third division attempts to prove that in Castilian there is no enclisis of the pronoun in interpolation and that the phenomenon is merely one of word order, influenced by analogies of certain frequent collocations.

LIST OF SPANISH, GALICIAN, AND PORTUGUESE TEXTS, EXAMINED FOR INTERPOLATION, WITH NOTICES OF CHRONOLOGY AND DIALECT OF AUTHORS AND MANUSCRIPTS.

1. Poema del Cid. Edición anotada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Madrid: 1900. (No name of publisher.)

Diplomatic edition from the unique manuscript in possession of D. Alejandro Pidal y Mon. The manuscript is of the XIV century and was probably written in 1307.[1]

The poem goes back perhaps as far as 1139, and is at least as old as the middle of the XII century.[2]

From internal evidence it seems probable that the original author of the *Poema del Cid* lived not far from Castejón on the Ebro, that is, in the borderland between Aragón and Old Castile, which was also the home of Berceo.[3]

2. Vida de Santa Maria Egipciaca. Florencio Janer, Edr. Poetas Castellanos anteriores al siglo XV (*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles de M. Rivadeneyra*, t. 57), págs. 307–318.

[1] Menéndez Pidal, *Lib. cit.*, p. iii; Baist, *Grundr. d. r. Ph.*, II Bd., 2. Abt., s. 397 u. Anmerk.

[2] Baist, *Grundr.*, II, 2, s. 396.

[3] Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, p. 51; Restori, *Le Gesta del Cid*, p. 6.

First published by D. Pedro José Pidal, in 1841, from a manuscript in the Escorial, written in character of the XV century.[1] A Spanish translation of the *Vie de Sainte-Marie l'Egyptienne* found with the *Carmina Anglo-Normannica* of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln.[2]

Baist believes the Spanish translation to be a work of the XIII century.[3] Amador de los Ríos ascribed the poem to the first half of the XII century. His arguments are refuted by Gorra.[4]

The reprint of Pidal's text in the Rivadeneyra collection, edited by Janer, is intended to be diplomatic. Janer collated the Pidal text with the codex and corrected many of the errors of the former.

The language of the poem, as transmitted, is very similar to that of Berceo. I have noticed nothing that would point to Aragonese or other dialects than that of Old Castile.

3. Libre de Apollonio. Florencio Janer, Edr. Poetas Cast. ant. al s. XV (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, t. 57), págs. 283–305.

Edited from a manuscript preserved in the Escorial. The same manuscript contains also the *Vida de Santa Maria Egipciaca.* It is considered by some (Introd., pág. XXXVI) to be of the XIV or beginning of the XV century. Baist (*Grundr.*, II, 2, s. 404) speaks of the manuscript as of the end of the XIII century.

The poem probably belongs to the first half of the XIII century, and is thus the work of a contemporary of Berceo.[5] Traits of Aragonese dialect in the text Baist attributes to the copyist.[6]

[1] *Poetas Cast. ant. al sig.* XV, pág. XXXVI.

[2] The sources are treated by Mussafia, *Ueber die Quelle der altspan. Vida de S. Maria Egipciaca.* Wien, Hof- u. Staatsdruckerei, 1863.

[3] *Grundr.*, II, 2, s. 401, § 20.

[4] *Ling. e Lett. spagn.*, p. 308.

[5] Baist, *Grundr.*, II, 2, s. 389; Janer, *Introd.*, pág. XXXVII.

[6] *Grundr.*, II, 2, s. 404, Anm.

I have examined for interpolation 328 stanzas, just one-half of the poem.

4. Gonzalo de Berceo :—

Vida de Sancto Domingo de Silos.
Vida de Sant Millan.
Del Sacrifiçio de la Missa.
Martyrio de Sant Laurençio.
Loores de Nuestra Sennora.
Milagros de Nuestra Sennora.
Vida de Sancta Oria, Virgen.

In *Poetas Cast. ant. al siglo* XV (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp. de Rivadeneyra*, t. 57), págs. 39–146.

The works of Berceo were first published by D. Tomás Antonio Sánchez in 1780. Sánchez's introduction, reprinted in the Rivadeneyra edition, gives no information with regard to the manuscripts. The codices of the monastery of San Millán, used by Sánchez, have been lost. Janer, in the Rivadeneyra reprint, could collate the Sánchez text with manuscripts only in the case of the *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* and of the *Sacrifiçio de la Missa.* Except in the *Silos* and *Sacrifiçio de la Missa,* the text is confessedly arbitrary, as regards orthography at least.[1] In none of the cases where the text of *Silos* or *Missa* shows interpolation does Janer indicate any variant between Sánchez and the manuscript and we may, perhaps, be justified in thinking that the XVIII century editor copied the cases in question with reasonable fidelity. Compare, however, the note on Sánchez's text of the *Alexandre.*

Gonzalo de Berceo was a member of the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla near Nájera in the diocese of Calahorra on the upper waters of the Ebro. The period of his literary activity falls approximately within the years 1220–1246.[2]

[1] Cf. Janer, *Lib. cit.*, pág. 39, Nota.
[2] Ticknor, *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, I, p. 26 ; Baist, *Grundr.*, II, 2, s. 402, § 21.

The dialect of Berceo's poems is Castilian, but shows traits of Aragonese, as might be expected from the situation of San Millán de la Cogolla in the valley of the Ebro.[1] The determination of Berceo's dialect is rendered uncertain by the discrepancies in this regard of the Sánchez text and the manuscript of *Silos*, belonging to the Real Academia de la Historia.[2]

5. ¿Gonzalo de Berceo? El Libro de Alexandre. Poetas Cast. ant. al siglo XV (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp. de M. Rivadeneyra*, t. 57), Florencio Janer, Edr., págs. 147–224.

This poem was first published by Sánchez in 1780 from the manuscript in the library of the Dukes of Osuna y del Infantado. This manuscript, which appears to be in script of the XIV century,[3] was collated with Sánchez's text by Janer, who notes something over two-hundred variant readings.[4] At least two of these variants are of interest in the present investigation. In stanzas 2062 and 2063, in which *se te tu pierdes* occurs twice, Sánchez both times wrote, *se tu te pierdes*.[5]

Until the discovery by Baist in 1888 of an unknown XV century manuscript containing the poem, the *Alexandre* was generally attributed to Juan Lorenzo Segura de Astorga, whose name occurs in the last stanza of the Osuna manuscript.[6] As early as 1875, however, Morel-Fatio, in the

[1] The dialect peculiarities of Berceo are summarily presented in Keller's *Altspanisches Lesebuch*, ss. 154-5, under the caption "*altcastilisch.*"

[2] Janer, *Lib. cit.*, pág. 39, Nota.

[3] A. Morel-Fatio (*Romania*, IV, p. 15) assigns the Osuna manuscript to the end of the XIII century.

[4] *Lib. cit.*, pág. 147.

[5] The sources of the *Alexandre* are studied by Morel-Fatio in *Romania*, IV, p. 7 *et suiv.*: "Recherches sur le texte et les sources du *Libro de Alexandre.*"

[6] Baist, *Romanische Forschungen*, VI, s. 292. The XV century manuscript closes with the stanza:

Sy queredes saber gen [l. quien] fiso esta vitado [l. este ditado]
Gonçalo de Berceo es por nombre clamado,
Natural de Madrid en Sant My[l]han quado [l. criado]
Del abat Johan Sancho notajo [l. notario] por no[m]brado.

article cited in the note above, suggested from interior evidence that not Segura, but some one named Gonzalo,[1] was the real author of the *Alexandre.* Morel-Fatio, in the article mentioned, is inclined to date the *Alexandre* somewhat later than Berceo; the latter he assigns to the years 1220–1240, while he thinks the *Alexandre* was composed between 1240 and 1260.

The poem, as we have it, is written in a dialect sensibly different from that of the works known to be Berceo's. Sánchez held the peculiarities of dialect to be Leonese.[2] Morel-Fatio[3] considers the Leonese traits to be entirely due to the copyist; the original author, he thinks, employed a Castilian dialect. Morel-Fatio's main argument is based on the observation of assonances. If the primitive author had spoken a dialect in which ŏ did not diphthongize, he could not have written stanzas :—

542 : —fijuelo, —luego, —moçuelo, —aguero.[4]
2064 : —fazedera, —fuera, —muera, —guerrera.
1222 : —cierto, —abierto, —huerto, —muerto.
534 : —tienda, —fazienda, —cuenta, —fazienda.

J. Cornu (*Romania*, IX, p. 89 *et suiv.*) discusses the 3rd pers. plur. perf. in *-ioron* in *Alexandre* and (p. 71) the dissyllabic treatment of words of the type *grey*, *ley*, *rey*, common to the *Alexandre*, the *Apolonio* and the works of Berceo. He concludes that the *Alexandre* was written in a dialect very close to the Castilian.[5]

As far as I can see, the internal evidence of the text

[1] Stz. 1386, v. 4 : E dixo a Gonçalo : ve dormir que assaz as velado.

[2] Poetas Cast., *Introd.*, pág. xxx.

[3] *Romania*, IV, p. 25.

[4] Why these four cannot stand in assonance in a non-diphthongizing dialect, Morel-Fatio does not explain. The other cases are evident.

[5] G. Baist (*Zeitschr. f. r. Philol.*, IV, s. 587) carries the discussion of verb terminations in the *Alexandre* somewhat farther and attempts to show which forms come from the author, which from Juan Lorenzo Segura and which from later copyists.

furnishes no absolute criterion for determining the question of authorship. The traits of western dialect may well be due to Juan Lorenzo, whose native town of Astorga is on the westernmost confines of the kingdom of León, close to Galicia. It seems safe, however, to assume that the original was written in a Castilian dialect.

No evidence for or against the authorship of Berceo is, I think, to be drawn from the special investigation of the present work. While, from reasons which will be developed later, I consider the rather frequent occurrence of interpolation in a text as early as that of the *Alexandre* a strong evidence of western influence, yet I see no reason why this, as well as other traits of dialect, may not be attributed to the copyists. That copyists did sometimes substitute interpolation for the normal order, and *vice-versa*, we have evidence from variant readings in some other works, notably those of the manuscripts of the Archpriest of Hita.

In another chapter I shall attempt to show that interpolation, if not absent from, was at least much less frequent in, the original *Alexandre* in Castilian dialect.

6. Poema de Fernán Gonçález. Texto crítico, con introducción, notas y glosario por C. Carroll Marden. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press; Madrid: Librería de M. Murillo. 1904.

Critical edition, based on a manuscript of the third quarter of the XV century, preserved in the Escorial.[1]

The author is generally held to have been a monk of San Pedro de Arlanza, near Burgos in the heart of Old Castile. The poem is certainly posterior to Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, the *Libro de Alexandre* and the *Crónica general*.[2] Marden, on the basis of historical allusions in the poem itself, fixes the date at 1250 or soon after.[3]

[1] Marden, *Lib. cit.*, *Introd.*, pág. xvi.

[2] Marden (*loc. cit.*, págs. xxviii–xxix) reviews all the previous notices and furnishes bibliographical references.

[3] *Ibid.*, págs. xxx–xxxi, and *Revue Hispanique*, VII, pp. 22–27.

In the citations given in the Appendix of this article I have inverted the arrangement of Marden's edition. I give the readings of the manuscript and indicate Marden's corrections as variants. Words in the manuscript, but suppressed by Marden, are italicized. Words added by Marden are enclosed in parentheses. Variant readings proposed by Marden are added in parentheses with *M.*

I have preferred to give the readings of the manuscript, because I think that some of Marden's corrections, especially in the matter of pronouns, are open to objection. I take exception to the following :—

1) Quien con el se encontrrava non yva [se] del sano, stz. 260, v. 2.

How can the editor introduce an enclitic *se* when *non* accompanies the verb? The negative particle regularly attracts the object-pronoun to the proclitic position,[1] except in cases of interpolation, when the pronoun moves still farther forward.

2) Nunca en otra ley tornar [se non] quisyeron, 9, 3.
A los vas[s]allos del conde dexar [*le non quisieron*], 597, 4.

In the last verse the reading of the manuscript is :—

. . . . del conde dellos se departyeron.

Marden's variant is based on a parallel passage in the *Crónica General.* In the entire poem there is not a single example of the word-order *tornar se non,* while there are at least eighteen[2] of the order infin.-neg.-pron. obj.-finite verb, e. g. *cobrar non lo podedes,* stz. 68, v. 4.

7. (El Cantar de los Cantares) Das Hohelied in castillanischer Sprache des XIII. Jahrhunderts nach der Handschrift des Escorial, I, i, 6, von Julius Cornu in Prag herausgegeben. Beiträge zur rom. u. engl. Philol. Festgabe für Wendelin Foerster. Ss. 121–128.

[1] Gessner, *Zeitschr. f. r. Phil.*, XVII, s. 37.

[2] Cf. stz. 68, v. 4; 98, 2; 276, 2; 276, 3; 285, 4; 334, 1; 400, 4; 432, 3; 435, 2; 462, 2; 490, 3; 538, 3; 556, 3; 570, 4; 676, 1; 678, 2; 735, 2; 745, 1.

Edited from a manuscript containing also the Gospels in Castilian. An edition of the latter is promised by Cornu. The manuscript is described in S. Berger's article *Les Bibles Castillanes*, *Romania*, XXVIII (1899), p. 560 and p. 391, § 2.

Owing to the infrequency of dependent clauses in the Song of Solomon, the text does not afford much material for the study of interpolation.

8. Textes castillans du XIII^e^ siècle. A. Morel-Fatio, Edr. *Romania*, XVI (1887), pp. 364–382.

I. Poème d'amour.
II. Débat du vin et de l'eau, en vers.
III. Les dix commandements avec commentaire à l'usage des confesseurs. (De los diez mandamientos.)

The two poems are composed in an irregular octosyllabic verse, like that of the *Vida de Santa Maria Egipciaca*. The three texts are found together in a manuscript of the XIII century, showing, Morel-Fatio thinks, traits of Aragonese dialect.[1] The Aragonese character is more pronounced in the prose piece than in the poems.

9. Documentos de la época de Don Alfonso el Sabio. (*Memorial Histórico Español*, t. I), 1851.

Collection edited partly from original documents, partly from earlier collections of such documents. The orthography is much modernized. I have examined for interpolation a number of documents of the years 1253 and 1254, nearly all written by the scribe García de Fromesta.

10. La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara. De la Crónica General que mandó componer el Rey Don Alfonso X. Ramón Menéndez Pidal: La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara. Págs. 207–243.

Critical edition by Menéndez Pidal, based on the following manuscripts of the *Crónica General* of Alfonso X:

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 367 . . . sinon composées, du moins transcrites dans la partie arragonaise-navarraise du domaine castillan.

E Bibl. Escurial. x–i–4 Script of the middle of the XIV century.
I Bibl. Nac. de Madrid I–i–4 Fifteenth century copy of a manuscript closely related to *E*. *I* shows considerable modernizing of the language
A Bibl. Nac. de Madrid x–61–1 Portuguese version in script of the XIV century.
B Bibl. Nac. de Madrid F. 42. Castilian manuscript in XV century hand.
Y Bibl. Escurial. Y–ij–11 End (?) of XIV century. First part written in Catalan. The Spanish remainder shows Eastern characteristics.
T Library of Menéndez Pelayo. End of XIV century.
Z Bibl. Escurial. x–i–7 XV century.
G Bibl. Escurial. x–i–11 XV century.

Menéndez Pidal (pág. 387) divides these manuscripts into three groups: *EIA*, *B*, *TYGZ*. The text follows mainly *E*. In the quotations I give the variants of the other manuscripts only where they bear upon the subject of interpolation. When no variant is given, all the manuscript readings given by Menéndez Pidal have the same pronoun order as the text. I have examined for interpolation chapters I–VII of Menéndez Pidal's text.

The *Crónica General* was probably written in the first half of the reign of Alfonso X el Sabio (1252–1284), *i. e.*, in the third quarter of the XIII century.[1]

11. La Gran Conquista de Ultramar que mandó escribir el rey don Alfonso el Sabio. Ilustrada con notas críticas y un glosario por D. Pascual de Gayangos (*Bibl. de Autores Españoles*, t. 44). Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra. 1877.

Thirty-five chapters of Book III and all of Book IV are edited from a manuscript of the Bibl. Nacional, in script of the beginning of the XIV century. The edition is, however, plainly not diplomatic. I have examined for interpolation the first twenty chapters of Book IV (pp. 504–515).

The work is a Spanish translation made, not for Alfonso

[1] Baist, *Grundr. d. rom. Phil.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., s. 410.

the Wise but for Sancho IV, probably in the last years of the XIII century.[1]

12. a) Don Juan Manuel, *El Libro de la Caza* zum erstenmale herausgegeben von G. Baist. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1880.

b) Don Juan Manuel: El Libro del Cauallero et del Escudero. Mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen nach der Handschrift neu herausgegeben von S. Gräfenberg. 1893. (*Romanische Forschungen*, VII. Bd., ss. 427–550.)

c) Juan Manuel: El Libro de los Enxiemplos del Conde Lucanor et de Patronio. Text und Anmerkungen aus dem Nachlasse von Hermann Knust herausgegeben von Adolf Birch-Hirschfeld. Leipzig: Dr. Seele und Co. 1900.

In the case of the *Libro de la Caza* and of the *Libro del Cauallero et del Escudero*, the material presented in the Appendix of this article covers the whole text; in that of the *Libro de los Enxiemplos*, only the first twenty-five *exemplos* (pp. 1–110).

The three works named above are all edited from the same manuscript (Bibl. Nacional de Madrid, S. 35). This is of the XV century and a full hundred years later than the author. Other manuscripts are known to exist only in the case of the *Libro de los Enxiemplos*. The edition of the latter gives variants from four other manuscripts:—

M MS. of the second half of the XV century in the Bibl. Nac. de Madrid.
E MS. of the XV century in the same library.
P MS. of the XV century, belonging to the Conde de Puñonrostro.
G MS. of the XVI century in the collection of D. Pascual Gayangos.

Don Juan, son of the Infante Don Manuel and nephew of Alfonso X, lived from 1282 to 1348.[2] The chronology

[1] Gayangos, *Op. cit.*, p. xi; Baist, *Grundr. d. rom. Phil.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., s. 415, § 28; Gaston Paris, *Romania*, XVII, p. 513 *et suiv.*: "La Chanson d'Antioche provençale et la *Gran Conquista de Ultramar.*"

[2] Baist, *Grundr. d. rom. Phil.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., s. 418.

of his works has been minutely worked out by Gottfried Baist,[1] who dates the three works in question as follows :—

Libro de la Caza. A. D. 1325–6.
Libro del Cauallero et del Escudero. 1326.
Libro de los Enxiemplos. Primera Parte 1328–9.

It is probable that, in spite of the lateness of the manuscripts, the texts, as we have them, reflect pretty faithfully the syntactic usage of Don Juan. The latter, as he tells us himself,[2] was particularly nice in matters of language and orthography, which makes the loss of the older manuscripts the more regrettable.

13. Juan Ruiz, arcipreste de Hita : Libro de Buen Amor.
Texte du XIV^e siècle, publié pour la première fois avec les leçons des trois manuscrits connus par Jean Ducamin (*Bibliothèque Méridionale publiée sous les auspices de la Faculté des Lettres de Toulouse.* 1^re Série. Tome VI.) Toulouse : Édouard Privat. 1901.

This is one of the very few editions of a Spanish text, presenting with any degree of completeness variant readings from several manuscripts. The editor designates and describes the manuscripts as follows :—

S MS. formerly belonging to the Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé at Salamanca, now in the library of the Royal Palace at Madrid. Script of the end of the XIV, or beginning of the XV century, in any case later than that of the two following.

G MS. formerly belonging to D. Benito Martínez Gayoso, now in the

[1] Baist, Die Zeitfolge der Schriften D. Juan Manuels : *Libro de la Caza*, ss. 128–155.

[2] "Et porque don Johan vio et sabe que en los libros contesce[n] muchos yerros en los trasladar porque las letras semejan unas a otras, cuydando por la una letra que es [la] otra, en escriviendolo mudase toda la rrazon et por aventura confondese, et los que despues fallan aquello escripto, ponen la culpa al que fizo el libro, et porque don Johan se rrecelo desto, rruega a los que leyeren qualquier libro que fuere trasladado del que el conpuso o de los libros que el fizo, que si fallaren alguna palabra mal puesta, que non pongan la culpa a el, fasta que bean el libro mismo que don Johan fizo que es emendado en muchos logares de su letra."—*Libro de los Enxiemplos*, pág. 1 y 2.

library of the Real Academia Española. Script of the XIV century.[1]

T MS. formerly in the library of the cathedral of Toledo, now in the National Library at Madrid. Script of the same age and character as that of *G*.[2]

Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, near Guadalajara in New Castile, was probably born near the end of the XIII century and certainly lived until the middle of the following century.[3] The date Era 1381 or A. D. 1343, given in stanza 1634, probably comes from the author himself.[4]

14. Poema de Alfonso Onceno, rey de Castilla y de León.
Florencio Janer, Edr. Poetas Castellanos anteriores al siglo XV (*Bibl. de Autores Españoles*, t. 57), págs. 477–551.

[1] *G* is dated at the end, A. D. 1389:

fenito libro, graçias a domino nostro jesũ xpisto; este libro
fue acabado jueues XXIII dias de jullio del
año del Nasçimiento del nuestro saluador jesu xpisto
de mill e tresientos e ochenta e Nueue años. Pág. 330.

[2] In the quotations which I have made from this work, I have followed the text as given by the editor, *i. e.*, the text of *S* and where that is lacking, *G*. I have indicated the variant readings of the manuscripts only where they affect cases of interpolation. In order to insure greater fidelity to the manuscripts, the editor employs four varieties of *s*, namely, *s*, *ſ*, *σ*, *ꜱ*, and two sorts of *i* besides *j*. As these orthographic refinements in no way affect the question of interpolation, I have disregarded them, representing *s*, *ſ*, and *σ* by *s* alone, and *ꜱ* by *z*.

[3] Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, p. 76.

[4] "Era de mill E tresientos E ochenta E vn años
fue conpuesto el rromançe, por muchos males e daños
que fasen muchos e muchas aotras con sus engaños,
E por mostrar alos synplex (*sic*) fablas e versos estraños."
Stz. 1634, MS. *S*.

T ends at this point with a variant stanza, naming a date three years earlier, as follows:—

Era de mill e tresyentos e sesenta e ocho años
fue acabado este lybro por muchos males e daños
daputs (*sic*) que fasen muchos e muchas a otros con sus engaños
E por mostrar alos synpres fabras e versos estraños.

Edited by Janer from a manuscript of the end of the XIV century, preserved in the Escorial. Whether Rodrigo Yáñez, mentioned in stanza 1841, is the author, is uncertain. Janer (*Op. cit.*, *Introd.*, pag. xlviii) believes the poem is nearly contemporary with the events which it describes, e. g. the conquest of Algeciras, A. D. 1344 (Era 1382, vide stz. 2451).

Cornu and Baist believe the poem is a transcription of a Portuguese or Galician original. Carolina Michaëlis, on the other hand, believes the original composer was a Leonese, accustomed to speak Portuguese or at least compose in that idiom. Both Cornu and Michaëlis base their conclusions on the study of assonances in the poem.[1]

The evidence from interpolation is probably not sufficient to decide the question of original dialect. The author, in any case, can hardly have been a Castilian. The use of interpolation in the text, as will be shown, is exactly parallel to that of Portuguese and Galician texts, and quite different from anything in works of undoubted Castilian origin.

15. Pero López de Ayala: Rimado de Palacio. Este libro fiço el honrado caballero Pero López de Ayala estando preso e llamase el Libro de Palagio [*sic*]. Florencio Janer: Poetas Castellanos anteriores al siglo XV (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, t. 57), págs. 425–476.

Janer gives no data with regard to the manuscript or manuscripts on which the edition is based. He merely says (p. 425): "Enteramente conforme con el códice más completo que se conoce."

The author lived from 1332 to 1407. Baist[2] dates the *Rimado* from 1378 to 1385. Fitzmaurice-Kelly[3] assigns

[1] Baist, *Grundr. f. r. Philol.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., s. 422, § 35; Michaëlis, *Ibid.*, ss. 204–5 u. Anmerkungen.
[2] *Grundr. d. rom. Philol.*, Bd. II., 2. Abt., s. 421.
[3] *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, p. 89.

the composition of the work to the years 1378–1403, basing the latter date on a statement in the text that the schism of 1378 had lasted twenty-five years.

I have examined for interpolation the first five hundred stanzas (2000 verses), pp. 425–441.

16. Poema de José. Michael Schmitz: Ueber das altspanische Poema de José. *Romanische Forschungen*, XI (1901), ss. 315–411.

Edited from the edition by Morf[1] of the manuscript of the Bibl. Nac. de Madrid in Arabic script. The manuscript is of the XVI century. A somewhat different version of the poem exists in an older manuscript now in the library of the Real Academia de la Historia and edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal.[2] I have not been able to collate all the cases of pronouns in the two editions, but in those that I have collated I have found agreement.

Morf dates the poem not earlier than the second half of the XV century. Menéndez Pidal puts it much earlier, considering the manuscript edited by him to belong to the end of the XIV or beginning of the XV century.

Gayangos and Menéndez Pidal believe the writer was Aragonese. Menéndez Pidal, in the article cited, makes a detailed study of the traits of Aragonese dialect in the poem.

With regard to the use of pronouns, the most noticeable peculiarity of the poem is the very frequent occurrence of the pronoun subject. This may be an argument for a rather late date.

17. Visión de Filiberto. Octavio de Toledo (José María), Edr. *Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, II, ss. 40–60.

[1] H. Morf, *El Poema de José*, Leipzig, 1883.

[2] Poema de Yúçuf. Materiales para su estudio. *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 3a Epoca, t. VII (1902), págs. 91–129; 276–309; 347–362.

A XIV century prose redaction of the *Disputatio Corporis et Animae*, found in the Toledo manuscript of the *Libro de Buen Amor* of Juan Ruiz,[1] and in script of the same character. The latter, as has been shown, is a manuscript of the last years of the XIV century.[2]

18. Pedro de Luna: Libro de las consolaciones de la vida humana. Escritores en Prosa anteriores al siglo XV recogidos é ilustrados por D. Pascual de Gayangos (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, t. 51), págs. 561–602.

Edited from a codex in a hand of the beginning of the XV century in the Escorial.[3] The work is divided into fifteen books of which the first ten (or fifty-four columns of the Rivadeneyra type) were examined for interpolation.

Pedro de Luna, known also as Antipope Benedict XIII, was a native of Aragon. Luna, who died in 1423 or 1424, composed the work in Latin in his declining years under the title *Vitae humanae adversus omnes casus consolationes.* It is not certain that the Castilian version is by him, but various Aragonisms in the text make it seem probable.[4]

19. a) El Libro de Exenplos por A. B. C. de Climente Sánchez, archidiacre de Valderas. MS. de Paris. A. Morel-Fatio, Edr. *Romania*, VII, p. 481 *et suiv.*

b) El Libro de los Enxemplos. Escritores en Prosa anteriores al siglo XV, recogidos é ilustrados por D. Pascual de Gayangos (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, t. 51), págs. 447–542. Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra. 1884.

[1] Vide MS. *T* in No. 13, above.

[2] Octavio de Toledo (*loc. cit.*) also edits a text, *Reuelación de vn hermitanno* (MS. del Escorial, XIV century), with the somewhat varying text of the *Disputa del cuerpo e del anima* (MS. de la Bibl. Natl. de Paris) with the variants of another Paris MS. These texts are not available for the present investigation because not presenting any cases of pronouns in the categories where interpolation commonly occurs.

[3] Gayangos (*op. cit.*, p. 561) mentions a second manuscript, "*propio de un sugeto avecindado en esta corte,*" but gives no indication of variants.

[4] Gayangos, *op. cit.*, p. 561.

The Rivadeneyra edition is printed from a Madrid manuscript, not older than the XV century.[1] This manuscript lacks seventy-two *exemplos*, all but one in the first part of the alphabet. These were found in a later manuscript, now in Paris, and are published in *Romania* as above. The rest of the Paris manuscript remains unedited. Morel-Fatio dates the Paris manuscript as of the end of the XV century. The composition of the work he assigns to the years 1400–1421.[2]

20. a) La Estoria de los Quatro Dotores de la Santa Eglesia. Die Geschichte der vier grossen lateinischen Kirchenlehrer, in einer alten spanischen Uebersetzung nach Vincenz von Beauvais herausgegeben von Friedrich Lauchert (*Romanische Bibliothek hrsg. v. Dr. Wendelin Foerster*, XIV. Bd.). Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer. 1897.

b) La Estoria del rey Anemur e de Iosaphat e de Barlaam. Von Friedrich Lauchert. *Romanische Forschungen*, VII. Bd., ss. 331–402.

Critical editions made from a XV century manuscript in the library of the University of Strassburg. Lauchert[3] thinks the manuscript is a copy of an earlier Spanish translation from the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais. The original Spanish translation cannot, I think, be older than the middle of the XV century. The orthography is archaistic and similar to that of the texts of Don Juan Manuel and other works of the XIV century but the constructions employed seem more modern. I wish these works and their manuscript might be more exactly dated, as they are among those that exhibit the last vestiges of interpolation in Castilian.

21. a) El Primero Libro del esforzado et virtuoso caballero Amadís, hijo del rey Perión de Gaula y de la reina Elisena; el

[1] See Gayangos, *loc. cit.*, pág. 423, and also in his notes to Ticknor, *Hist. de la Lit. Esp.*, I, p. 502.

[2] *Romania*, VII, p. 482 *et suiv.*

[3] *Est. de los Qu. Dot.*, p. X.

cual fué corregido y emendado por el honrado é virtuoso caballero Garci-Ordóñez de Montalbo, regidor de la noble villa de Medina del Campo, é corregióle de los antiguos originales, que estaban corruptos é compuestos en antiguo estilo, etc. Libros de Caballerías, con un discurso preliminar y un catálogo razonado por D. Pascual de Gayangos (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, t. 40). Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra. 1874.

b) Las Sergas del muy esforzado caballero Esplandián, hijo del excelente rey Amadís de Gaula. *In* Libros de Caballerías, etc. (as above), págs. 403–561.

The Rivadeneyra edition is a reprint of an edition printed at Venice in 1533 by Francisco Delgado. The extant edition of 1508 was not accessible to Gayangos. I have examined for interpolation the first twenty chapters of Book I of *Amadis* (108 columns of Rivadeneyra text) and the first ten chapters of *Las Sergas.*

The first books of *Amadis,* as we know them, were compiled in the last years of the XV century by Garci-Ordóñez de Montalvo from earlier works, but are not known to have been printed before 1508.[1] The question whether Montalvo's source was Spanish or Portuguese has been the subject of a controversy among scholars and is not yet definitely settled.[2] *Las Sergas de Esplandián* is a sequel to *Amadis,* composed by Montalvo himself.[3]

The frequent cases in *Amadis* of interpolation, taken together with the absence of interpolation in *Las Sergas,* tend to confirm the argument for a Portuguese source. Meyer-Lübke has anticipated me in suggesting that interpolation in *Amadis* may be due to the Portuguese original,[4] but

[1] Baist, *Grundr. d. r. Phil.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., s. 440, § 46.

[2] Baist, *loc. cit.*, s. 441; Carolina Michaëlis, *op. cit.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., ss. 216–226, §§ 55–66.

[3] Baist, *loc. cit.*, s. 440.

[4] *Grammatik d. rom. Spr.*, IV, s. 764, § 715. Gessner (*Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XVII, s. 34) mentions interpolation and other peculiarities of pronominal syntax as distinguishing *Amadis* from other contemporary Spanish texts, but does not ascribe them to Portuguese influence.

I shall, in another part of this investigation, attempt to show that interpolation in *Amadis* is of a quite different sort from that found in texts of undoubted Castilian origin and that it bears a decidedly Portuguese stamp.

22. La Leyenda del abad don Juan de Montemayor, publicada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal (*Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur*, 2. Bd.). Dresden. 1903. (Vertreter für den Buchhandel: Max Niemeyer, Halle a. S.)
   1. Diego Rodríguez de Almela: Compendio historial. Capítulo cclxxxvij.
   2. Historia del Abad don Juan de Montemayor impresa en Valladolid, 1562.

The first text is a chapter from Almela's historical work, composed about 1479 and presented to the Catholic Monarchs in 1491. This work exists in two different redactions, the first having one, the second, four, manuscripts. Menéndez Pidal publishes the text of the manuscript of the first redaction with *varia lectio* of the manuscripts of the second. The manuscripts are distinguished as follows:—

First Redaction.

P Bibl. Nac. de Madrid. P–1 In hand of the second half of the xv century.

Second Redaction.

U Bibl. Escurial. U–ij–10 y 12 Of the beginning of the XVI century.
M XVI century manuscript in the library of D. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo.

Note.—In quoting from this text I give variants only where they interest the question of interpolation.

The second text is edited from a copy of the only known exemplar of the edition of 1562. The copy was made under the supervision of S^{ra} Michaëlis de Vasconcellos.

The common sources of both of these texts are extensively discussed by Menéndez Pidal (*op. cit.*, págs. vii–xxxvi). His thesis is that they are taken from a lost prose redaction of a

lost Castilian epic. Carolina Michaëlis had assumed a Portuguese origin for the legend.[1]

No argument for or against the theory of a Castilian original could be drawn from the cases of interpolation in Almela's text without previously comparing other portions of his work. The cases of interpolation seem rather frequent for so late a work but are of the same character as those observed in XIV century Castilian texts and may be copied from the lost Castilian *prosificación* which Menéndez Pidal's theory postulates.

23. Souhaits de bienvenue adressés à Ferdinand le Catholique par un poète barcelonais en 1473. *Romania*, XI, pp. 333–356. (A. Morel-Fatio, Edr.)

24. Comedia de Calisto *et* Melibea. (Unico texto auténtico de la Celestina.) Reimpresión publicada por R. Foulché-Delbosc. (*Biblioteca Hispanica.*) Barcelona, "L'Avenç;" Madrid, M. Murillo. 1900.

A reprint of the third edition of the work, published in 1501 at Seville.[2]

25. Juan de Valdés: Diálogo de la Lengua. Herausgegeben von Eduard Boehmer. *Romanische Studien hrsg. v. Eduard Boehmer*, VI. Bd., ss. 339–490. Bonn: Eduard Weber's *Verlag* (Julius Flittner), 1895.

Edited from a manuscript in the Bibl. Nac. de Madrid. The manuscript was probably written before 1558.[3] The dialog was composed about 1535.[4]

26. La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes, y de sus fortunas y aduersidades. Restitución de la edición príncipe por R. Foulché-

[1] *Grundr. d. rom. Philol.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., s. 206, § 50.

[2] Gessner (*Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XVII, s. 34) states that interpolation does not occur in the *Celestina.* My examination of the critically edited reprint confirms his finding.

[3] Boehmer, *op. cit.*, s. 455.

[4] Baist, *Grundr. d. rom. Philol.*, II, Bd., 2. Abt., s. 458, § 59.

Delbosc. (*Biblioteca hispanica.*) Barcelona, "L'Avenç;" Madrid, M. Murillo. 1900.

Critical reconstruction of the lost *editio princeps* from the three editions of the year 1554 (Alcalá de Henares, Burgos, and Antwerp) with the variant readings of these editions.

27. Luis de León: La Perfecta Casada por el maestro F. Luys de Leon. Texto del siglo XVI. Reimpresión de la Tercera Edición, con variantes de la Primera y un Prólogo por Elizabeth Wallace. (*Decennial Publications.* Second Series. Vol. VI.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1903.

The edition followed was printed at Salamanca in 1587.

GALICIAN AND PORTUGUESE TEXTS.

28. Cantigas de Santa María de Don Alfonso el Sabio. Las publica la Real Academia Española. (L. de Cueto, marqués de Valmar, Edr.). Madrid: Luis Aguado. 1889.

Edition made from a XIII century manuscript preserved in the Escorial.[1] The *cantigas* date from about the third quarter of the XIII century.[2] I have collected the examples of interpolation in the first fifteen *cantigas* (págs. 3–26).

29. (El-Rey Dom Diniz de Portugal.) Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis von Portugal. Zum ersten Mal vollständig herausgegeben und mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Glossar versehen von Henry R. Lang. Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer. 1894.

Critical edition based on Monaci's diplomatic editions of the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* (Codex Vaticanus 4803)[3] and the *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti.* The Vatican codex belongs to the end of the XV or beginning of the XVI century.[4]

[1] Paz y Melia, *op. cit.*, *Introd.*, p. 37.

[2] Carolina Michaëlis, *Grundr. d. rom. Philol.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., ss. 184-5.

[3] Il canzoniere portoghese della biblioteca vaticana, messo a stampa da Ernesto Monaci. Con una prefazione, con facsimili e con altre illustrazioni. Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer editore. 1875.

[4] Lang, *op. cit.*, Einl. s. V.

Dom Diniz, grandson of Alfonso X of Castile, reigned from 1279 to 1325.[1]

I have examined for interpolation only the first fifty *cantigas d'amor*, all taken from the Vatican manuscript (985 verses in all). The quotations in the Appendix follow Lang's text in every case, as very few of his emendations affect cases of interpolation.[2]

30. Estoria troyãa acabada era de mill et quatroçentos et onze annos (1373). *Extraits du MS. de la Bibl. Natle. de Madrid,* I–i–67 *par* Jules Cornu. *Miscellanea Linguistica in onore di Graziadio Ascoli,* pp. 95–128. 1901.

Crónica Troyana, códice gallego del siglo XIV de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, con apuntes gramaticales y vocabulario por D. Manuel R. Rodríguez. Publícalo á expensas de la excma. Diputación de esta provincia Andrés Martínez Salazar. Volumen Primero. La Coruña. Imprenta de la Casa de Misericordia. 1900.

Both publications are based on the same manuscript. This was completed in the year 1373. In the quotations I have followed the text as given by Cornu, examining for interpolation pages 95–113.

31. a) Vida de Eufrosina.
b) Vida de Maria Egipcia.
c) Extraits d'un Traité de dévotion.

Textes portugais du XIVe siècle. Jules Cornu, Edr. *Romania,* XI, pp. 357–390.

These three works are found in a single XIV century manuscript. The first two are in the same hand. The third is in a different hand.

[1] *Ibid.*, s. xxxvi ff.

[2] To v. 975 : *qual eu a vi, u ouvi Deus irado,* Lang appends the following note : *ms.* ql eu ui ; *der sinn sowie das metrum verlangen* a. In view of the great preponderance of the interpolated order in the text, I should have emended : *qual* a *eu vi,* etc.

32. Un Viaggio fantastico, in portoghese. E. Teza: Trifoglio. *Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, XI. Bd., ss. 289–297.

Edited from a manuscript in the library of Siena (*D. V.* 13, pp. 219–223). The text is Old Portuguese but the editor vouchsafes no further indication of date.

33. Z. Consiglieri Pedroso: Contribuções para um romanceiro e cancioneiro popular portuguez. *Romania*, x, pp. 100–116. 1881.

Collected by the editor from oral tradition chiefly in Lisbon and vicinity.

34. A. Coelho, Edr.: Romances sacros, orações e ensalmos populares do Minho. *Romania*, III, p. 262 *et suiv.* 1874.

Collected by the editor from oral tradition in the province named.

35. Henry R. Lang: Tradições populares açorianas. Cantigas populares. *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XVI. Bd., ss. 422–431. Editor's note (s. 422): "Os materiaes que vou dar a conhecer aqui, foram sem excepção colhidos de gente da ilha do Fayal."

NOTES ON SPANISH TEXTS AND SPANISH DIALECTS IN GENERAL.

An examination of the preceding list of texts, utilized for linguistic material, will show that, whenever they were to be had, critically edited editions have been followed. As the number of the latter is still very limited, it has been necessary to have recourse to a rather large number of works which have not yet found critical editors.

It will be seen, also, that in the case of most works there have been added to the usual bibliographical indications of edition, manuscripts, etc., a few words with regard to the chronology and dialect both of the manuscripts and of the author.

In many cases the chronology is decidedly unsatisfactory. The small number of critical editions, the dearth of texts edited on more than one manuscript, and the lack of critical apparatus generally, make it extremely hazardous, in the absence of external data, to attempt to fix from internal criteria alone the date of any text.

Even more perplexing than the question of date is that of dialect. In the absence of any authoritative treatise on the subject, it may be well briefly to state the principles which have guided the present investigation.

In the first place one must bear in mind the historical conditions of the formative period, *i. e.*, the period during which the peninsular dialects were differentiating most rapidly from Vulgar Latin and taking on those characteristics of Castilian, Galician, etc., which we meet in the earliest Romance texts. For a period of nearly four centuries, that is, from the fall of the Visigothic monarchy in A. D. 711 to the last quarter of the XI century,[1] all of Spain south of the rivers Ebro and Duero remained in undisputed possession of the Moors. In the course of the X and XI centuries, we observe the rise of several independent Christian states along the northern border of the peninsula. Each of these is, I think, to be regarded as a linguistic centre. These states, proceeding from East to West, are :—

1) Catalonia.
2) Aragon and Navarre.
3) Old Castile.

[1] The following dates will give an approximate idea of the chronology of the Christian recovery of the peninsula : 1085. Capture of Toledo.—1094. Valencia taken by the Cid, but evacuated in 1102.—1104. Capture of Medinaceli, a Moorish stronghold near the meeting point of the boundaries of Old Castile, New Castile and Aragon. — 1118. Saragossa. — 1147. Lisbon.—1177. Cuenca, in New Castille.—1212. Battle of *Las Navas de Tolosa*, carrying Christian arms into Andalusia.—1236. Capture of Cordoba.—1238. Final capture of Valencia.—1248. Seville.

4) Asturias and Leon.

5) Galicia.

As the Christian recovery of Spain proceeded from North to South, each of these small states formed, as it were, a linguistic base from which speech was carried southward by the *conquistadores*. In their gradual progress southward, the Christians of the North mingled with great bodies of Romance speaking brethren (*aljamiados*) who had been living under Mohammedan rule. It would seem, however, as if the influence of the *aljamiado* dialects on the future trend of speech had been inconsiderable as compared with that of the northern linguistic centres named above. The northern conquerors, the *cristianos viejos*, everywhere formed the dominant class and, naturally, the pioneers of literature in the vernacular would either be members of the dominant caste or if not, would wish to adopt its idiom.

I shall consider the five linguistic centres in turn, proceeding from East to West.

1) Catalonia.—This is the centre of a linguistic province so sharply marked off from the rest of Spain that we do not have to regard it in the study of the interrelations of Spanish dialects. Catalan speech extended southwards, embracing a large part of the east coast.

2) Aragon and Navarre.—Unlike Catalonia, Aragon had no Trans-Pyrenean connections and its speech is very close to that of its western neighbor, Castile. In the march of conquest the Aragonese moved to the southeast, leaving New Castile to their western neighbors.

3) Old Castile.—The kings of Castile, in their triumphant progress from the conquest of Toledo in 1085 to that of Seville in 1248, that is, in a century and a half, carried their speech over the greater part of the peninsula. The linguistic province, which at Santander on the Cantabrian coast runs almost to a point, spreads out ever wider and wider towards

the south, taking in first New Castile and finally all Andalusia and Murcia. The relative uniformity of Spanish as spoken to-day over all of this vast area, in contrast to the divergent vernaculars of other parts of the peninsula, still bears witness to the former unity of Castilian speech.

4) Leon and Asturias.—Although these provinces were the cradle of the *Reconquista*, their dialect, owing to their early union with Castile and the transference of the seat of power to the latter country, remained subordinate to the Castilian and was not, to any great extent, carried into the conquered regions. It forms, however, a connecting link between the speech of Castile and that of Galicia, having characteristics in common with each of them.

5) Galicia.—The speech of this province differentiated itself markedly from the dialects to the East and, carried southward into Portugal, gave rise to the modern Portuguese. In the Middle Ages, however, there was no sharp boundary between Galician, on the one hand, and Leonese and Castilian on the other. In spite of salient phonetic differences both of these idioms belong to the same *Sprachgemeinde*. For this reason it has been necessary to include Portuguese and Galician texts in the present investigation.

The point of the preceding discussion which I wish most to emphasize is the fundamental character of the *East* to *West* differentiation of the dialects, in contrast to the comparative uniformity of speech in the direction North and South. This has an important bearing on my thesis, as I hope to make it seem probable that interpolation is a phenomenon first appearing in the West, gradually extending towards the East, gaining a foothold for a time in Old Castile but falling from Castilian speech when the centres of political and literary activity were shifted eastward from Old Castile to New Castile.

ALPHABETIC LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

The Numbers refer to the List of Spanish, Galician and Portuguese Texts.

Abad Juan.	*La Leyenda del Abad don Juan de Montemayor* (22).
Alex.	*El Libro de Alexandre* (5).
Alf. Onceno.	*Poema de Alfonso Onceno* (14).
Amadis.	*Amadis de Gaula* (21a).
Apol.	*Libro de Apolonio* (3).
Berceo.	Gonzalo de Berceo (4).
Laur.	*Martyrio de Sant Laurençio.*
Loor.	*Loores de Nuestra Sennora.*
Milag.	*Milagros de Nuestra Sennora.*
Millan.	*Vida de Sant Millán.*
Missa.	*Del Sacrifiçio de la Missa.*
Oria.	*Vida de Sancta Oria, Virgen.*
Silos.	*Vida de Sancto Domingo de Silos.*
Buen Amor.	*v.* Juan Ruiz.
Cant. Cant.	*El Cantar de los Cantares* (7).
Cant. S. María.	*Cantigas de Santa María de Don Alfonso el Sabio* (28).
Cav. et Esc.	*v.* Juan Manuel.
Caza.	*v.* Juan Manuel.
Celest.	*Comedia de Calisto et Melibea,* etc. (24).
Cid.	*Poema del Cid* (1).
Consol.	Pedro de Luna: *Libro de las Consolaciones de la vida humana* (18).
Contrib.	*Contribuções para um romanceiro e cancioneiro popular portuguez* (33).
Débat.	*Débat du vin et de l'eau* (8).
Dial. Leng.	Juan de Valdés: *Diálogo de la Lengua* (25).
Diniz.	El-Rey Dom Diniz de Portugal: *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis v. Portugal* (29).
Docs. Alf. X.	*Documentos de la época de Don Alfonso et Sabio* (9).
Egipc.	*Vida de Santa Maria Egipciaca* (2).
Egipc. (Pg.).	*Vida de Maria Egipcia* (31b).
Enxemp.	*El Libro de los Enxemplos* (19b).
Est. Troy.	*Estoria Troyãa,* etc. (30).
Eufros.	*Vida de Eufrosina* (31a).
Exenp.	*El Libro de Exenplos de Climente Sánchez* (19a).
Fern. Gonç.	*Poema de Fernán Gonçález* (6).
Filiberto.	*Visión de Filiberto* (17).

Gran. Conq.	*La Gran Conquista de Ultramar* (11).
Inf. de Lara.	*La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara* (10).
José.	*Poema de José* (16).
Juan Manuel.	Don Juan Manuel.
Cav. et Esc.	*El Libro del Cauallero et del Escudero* (12b).
Caza.	*El Libro de la Caza* (12a).
Patronio.	*El Libro de los Enxiemplos del Conde Lucanor et de Patronio* (12c).
Juan Ruiz: Buen Amor.	Juan Ruiz, arcipreste de Hita: *Libro de Buen Amor* (13).
Laur.	*v.* Berceo.
Lazar.	*La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (26).
Loor.	*v.* Berceo.
Mand.	*De los diez Mandamientos* (8).
Milag.	*v.* Berceo.
Millan.	*v.* Berceo.
Missa.	*v.* Berceo.
Oria.	*v.* Berceo.
P. d'A.	*Poème d'Amour* (8).
Patronio.	*v.* Juan Manuel.
Perf. Casada.	Luis de León: *La Perfecta Casada* (27).
Quatro Dot.	*La Estoria de los Quatro Dotores de la Santa Eglesia* (20a).
Rimado.	Pero López de Ayala: *Rimado de Palacio* (15).
Rom. Sacr.	*Romances sacros, orações e ensalmos populares do Minho* (34).
Sergas.	*Las Sergas de Esplandian* (21b).
Silos.	*v.* Berceo.
Souhaits.	*Souhaits de bienvenue adressés à Ferdinand le Catholique* (23).
Trad. Açor.	*Tradiçōs populares açorianas* (35).
Traité.	*Extraits d'un Traité de dévotion* (31c).
Viag. Fantast.	*Viaggio fantastico in portoghese* (32).

PART ONE.

STUDY OF INTERPOLATION IN THE TEXTS.

Introductory Note on the Classification of the Illustrative Material.

Before entering upon the discussion of interpolation in individual texts, a few words of explanation with regard to the classification of examples will be necessary.

Interpolations of more than one word are rare in Castilian texts. The interpolated word is almost invariably :—

1) The negative particle *non* (or *no*). In this category fall a majority of all the cases of interpolation.
2) An adverb (other than *non*), e. g. *bien*, *mal*, *mucho*, *asi*, etc. Interpolations of this sort are less frequent than those of No. 1. This category will be symbolized by the adverb *bien*.
3) A personal pronoun subject. This category will be symbolized by the pronoun *yo*.

Another variety of interpolation, consisting of but a single word, is that of a noun (oftenest *Dios*) or a demonstrative pronoun, e. g. *esto*. Examples of this sort of interpolation are infrequent and in most of the articles of the Appendix are, for convenience, combined with those of interpolations of more than one word.

In a great majority of the latter, one of the interpolated words belongs to one of the three categories mentioned above, or the interpolation may be a combination of two of them, e. g. *yo non*, *yo bien*. Interpolation of a noun or demonstrative pronoun I designate as *nominal*, that of two or more words as *multiverbal*.

The most general characteristic of interpolation, however, is the fact that wherever it occurs, the pronoun-object follows immediately after the initial word of a dependent clause. The exceptions to this rule are so rare in Castilian texts that I class all such exceptions as anomalous. The anomalous interpolations are of two sorts: 1st) Those in which the pronoun-object follows some member of a principal clause (including the conjunctions *et*, *pero*, *mas*), and 2nd) Those in which the pronoun-object in a dependent clause does not immediately follow the initial word of such clause. Examples of the second sort are very rare.

The initial word of the dependent clause I shall call the *exordium*.[1] The most common exordiums are *que* and *si*. The conjunctions *et*, *pero*, *mas*, do not introduce dependent clauses. This is proved by the fact that in *et-*, *pero-* and *mas-* clauses the pronoun-object may be enclitic to the verb. Such enclisis never occurs in clauses introduced by other conjunctions. At least I have found no example of it in Castilian.[2]

For convenience I have divided the exordiums into three classes, although the division does not represent any fundamental distinction as regards the phenomenon of interpolation. The three classes are :—

1) *Que*. This includes the conjunction *que*, simple or compound (*por que*, etc.), *que* with the force of *ca* or *pues*, and the relative pronoun *que*, subject or object or following a preposition.
2) *Si* (dialectal *se*) in the protasis of conditional sentences.

[1] I borrow this use of the word from Wackernagel's article, *Ueber ein Gesetz der idg. Wortstellung*, Idg. Forsch., I, ss. 333 ff.

[2] Dependent clauses introduced by a verb are naturally excluded from this discussion, as in them the object-pronoun must follow the verb exordium. Interpolation is limited to constructions in which the pronoun precedes its governing verb.

3) *Quando* (modern spelling *cuando*) which is employed to symbolize all exordiums other than *que* or *si*, whether conjunctions, relative pronouns, or relative adverbs with conjunctional force.[1]

Still another variety of interpolation is found in the case of infinitives governed by a preposition. In this construction pronoun-objects, the negative particle, and adverbs commonly precede the infinitive, standing between it and the governing preposition. Pronoun-subjects and other words occasionally occur in the same position. Thus the preposition becomes quite parallel to the exordium of a dependent clause and the same varieties of interpolation are possible. These cases will be symbolized in the same manner as the others, *por* representing any preposition governing an infinitive.

The Appendix of this article shows all the examples, in the works or parts of works indicated, of the categories defined above. Examples of normal order are classed under the sub-heading *a*); those of interpolated order, under *b*). Examples of normal order are given only in the three categories first mentioned above (*non*, *bien*, *yo*). Nominal and multiverbal interpolations will be symbolized by two blanks (— —). The pronoun-object itself is symbolized by *lo*, which will be employed to represent also the combination of indirect and direct object (*ge lo*, etc.), as two pronoun objects form a syntactic unit which is never broken. The categories of interpolations and exordiums are combined according to the following scheme, the Spanish words having the symbolic values defined in the foregoing paragraphs.

[1] Occasionally a word-group, having the function of a relative through the inclusion of *quanto*, or the like, stands in the place of an exordium. Interpolations in such cases are classed as anomalous in the Appendix, but receive special mention in the discussion.

Scheme of Classification of Illustrations.

1. a) Que, si, quando non lo. 1) Que. 2) Si. 3) Quando.
   b) Que, si, quando lo non. 1) Que. 2) Si. 3) Quando.

2. a) Que, si, quando bien lo. 1) Que. 2) Si. 3) Quando.
   b) Que, si, quando lo bien. 1) Que. 2) Si. 3) Quando.

3. a) Que, si, quando yo lo. 1) Que. 2) Si. 3) Quando.
   b) Que, si, quando lo yo. 1) Que. 2) Si. 3) Quando.

4. Que, si, quando lo — —. 1) Que. 2) Si. 3) Quando.

5. Anomalous Examples.

6. Infinitive. a) 1) Por non lo. 2) Por bien lo.
   b) 1) Por lo non. 2) Por lo bien. 3) Por lo — —.

Note.—The material of Nos. 4 (Berceo), 12a (Caza), 13 (Buen Amor), 17 (Filiberto), 19a (Exenp.), 31 (Eufros., Egipc. (Pg.), Traité), does not exactly follow the preceding scheme, but is arranged: 1. a) *Que non lo.* b) *Que lo non.* 2. a) *Si non lo.* b) *Si lo non,* etc. In some works, also, examples of category No. 4, *Que lo* — —, etc., are combined with the anomalous examples. This last classification was adopted tentatively during the earlier part of the investigation. Later it appeared that the division into the categories *que, si, quando* was not organic. Consequently it seemed best to modify the scheme of classification in such a way as to give less prominence to these categories.

CHAPTER I.

INTERPOLATION IN CASTILIAN WORKS OF THE XII AND XIII CENTURIES.

A.

THE *Poema del Cid.*

The *Cid* (Appendix, No. 1) is the only monument of the XII century of sufficient length to afford material for the study of interpolation.[1] Examination reveals only eight examples of interpolation, distributed as follows: two of the type *que lo non*, one of *quando lo non*, against nineteen of *que non lo*, three of *si non lo* and seven of *quando non lo*, or three to twenty-nine in favor of the normal order for the first category; one example of *que lo bien* to sixteen of *que, si, quando bien lo ;* three of *que lo yo*, one of *si lo yo*, against four of *que yo lo*, one of *si yo lo* and fourteen of *quando yo lo*, or four to nineteen in favor of the normal order; one anomalous example: *qui lo fer non quisiesse*, v. 2993.[2]

[1] Fragmentary specimens of Spanish of an early date are furnished by the works named below. For the subject of interpolation their evidence is entirely negative.

a) J. Priebsch, Altspanische Glossen, *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XIX, ss. 1–40.

b) Egidio Gorra, *Lingua e letteratura spagnuola*, pp. 177–180, 183–184. The fragments of early texts in this work are reprinted from :

c) E. Monaci, Testi basso-latini e volgari della Spagna, raccolti per un corso accademico sui primordi della letteratura castigliana, con note. Roma : Tipografia del Senato, 1891.

d) *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*, Abdruck von G. Baist. Erlangen, 1887.

[2] I class this as an example of interpolation because proclisis of a pronoun object with an infinitive when the latter is accompanied by a modal verb, is abnormal in Old Spanish texts, especially so when the clause is negative. For the normal order, cf. *Cid*, v. 619 : *Los moros et las moras vender* non los *podremos*.

The relatively rare occurrence of interpolation in the *Cid*, when taken together with the small number of examples of it in most works of the following century, leads one to suspect that the phenomenon is not a feature of the *Cid* in its original form but is due to later scribes. The metrification and text criticism of the *Cid* are, however, so uncertain that any attempt to dispose of the interpolations by establishing critical readings with normal order does not seem warranted. The proportion of interpolated subject pronouns is much greater than that of examples in other categories and it is possible that some of these cases may be original. The earliest authentic case of interpolation that I have met is of this sort. In a document of the year 1206[1] there occurs the following passage:—

> en tal guisa que aquellos, vasallo ó vasallos de la Reyna Doña Berenguela, á *que los ela* mandare dar, fagan omenexe primeramente, *op. cit.*, pág. cxxxv, l. 3.

B.

Metrical Works of the XIII Century on French Models.

1. *Vida de Santa Maria Egipciaca* (Appendix No. 2).— In the 1442 verses of this poem there is only one example of interpolation:—

> por poco que *se non* murien, v. 103,

as against eight examples of the type *que non lo*, five of them with the pronoun *se*. I think we must attribute this one exceptional case of interpolation to a XIV century copyist.

[1] Tratados de Paz entre los reyes Don Alfonso VIII. de Castilla y IX. de León, firmados en Cabreros, Era 1244, año de 1206, sacados de escritura original que existe en la Santa Iglesia de León. Fray Manuel Risco, Edr. España Sagrada, t. xxxvi, apénd. lxii, págs. cxxxii–cxl.

2. *Libro de Apolonio* (Appendix No. 3).—In the first half of this work, which is all that I have examined, there is but one example of interpolation :—

Fija, si vos queredes buscarme grant plaçer,
Que vos yo siempre aya mucho que gradeçer.
Stz. 166, 1–2.

I incline to think that in this case the copyist anticipated the words *yo siempre* and that the original reading was: *Que vos aya yo siempre.*[1] The poem, moreover, exhibits not less than twenty-six examples of the categories in which interpolation normally occurs without a single case of it.[2]

3. *Gonzalo de Berceo* (Appendix No. 4).—The extensive remains of Berceo's verse afford a wide field for the study of interpolation. The published text of the seven poems of Berceo which I have examined, presents fifteen examples of interpolation, thirteen of *non* and only two of subject pronouns. The examples of the type *que non lo* outnumber those of *que lo non* three to one (22 to 7), and those of *si non lo* are more than twice as frequent as those of *si lo non.*[3] The only anomalous example is :—

Por poco *se non* riso, tant ovo grant sabor.
Millán 222, 4.

[1] The verse is metrically correct and it is, of course, possible that the interpolation is original. Another hypothesis is that *Que vos yo aya* represents the original order. Interpolation may have begun earlier with *nos* and *vos* than with the other pronouns, since the former do not have distinct case or stress forms. This will be discussed in another chapter.

[2] Brief mention should be made of: El Libro de los Reyes de Oriente. Florencio Janer, Poetas Castellanos anteriores al siglo XV. (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, t. 57), págs. 319–321.

This poem, contained in the same manuscript with *Apol.* and *Egipc.*, and written in verse similar to that of the latter, contains no example of interpolation, but it is too short to offer evidence of any considerable value.

[3] These figures cannot be taken as final. Compare the note on the Rivadeneyra edition of the *Alexandre* in the *List of Texts*, No. 5.

I incline to attribute to XIV century copyists most of the examples of the types *que lo non, si lo non,* in Berceo. For the examples of the type *que lo non* I cannot, however, adduce any argument for a different reading in the original. Granted the absence of synalepha in Berceo's syllable count,[1] the normal or the interpolated order is indifferent to the metre.

The proportion of cases of the type *si lo non* is, we have seen, rather higher than that of *que lo non.* It seems probable that some of the former are unoriginal :—

1) Que *sis non* quisiessen quitar de la follia.—Millán 283, 2.

The first half verse is one syllable short. I should read : *Que si non se quisiessen.*

2) Sennor, *si nos non* sanas, daqui nunqua iztremos.—Millán 327, 1.
Si nos non vales, madre, podemosnos perder.—Loor. 223, 2.

In the two cases above, I think that *nos* partakes of the character of a stressed pronoun. It is, then, to be regarded as a relic of earlier usage before stressed pronouns employed as objects required the preposition *á.*

There are only two cases of interpolated subject pronouns in *que*-clauses, as against thirteen with normal order, and no case with *si* as against eight of the type *si yo lo.* The first example :—

Lo *que lis él* diçia façieielo probar. Milagr. 725, 3.

should be compared with :—

Que elli les dennasse conseio embiar.	Silos 450, 3.
Que elli lis mostrase qual debiessen alzar.	Milagr. 307, 4.
En el su amor sancto *que él la* ençienda.	Missa 102, 3.
Que él los absuelva de todos los pecados.	Missa 269, 2.

It is apparent that the last two examples lack a syllable.

[1] F. Hanssen, *Miscelánea de Versif. Castellana,* págs. 6–8 ; *Sobre el Hiato,* etc., págs. 12–14.

They should also show the form *elli* which Berceo seems regularly to have used before a word beginning with *l*. It follows that in the interpolated example Berceo wrote *que lis él*, because *que elli lis* would have made the half verse too long, or else, *lo quelli lis diçia*, although we expect him to avoid the synalepha with *que* of the last supposition.

The other example of interpolation in the *yo* category:—

De sendos pater nostres *que me vos* ayudedes. Missa 297, 3.

occurs in the last stanza of a poem. This stanza, judged from its content, can hardly be from Berceo's hand. The second verse:—

Merçet pido a todos por la ley que tenedes,

with its monosyllabic treatment of *ley*[1] is, it seems to me, sufficient proof of its late date.

Berceo contains one, for XIII century Castilian, quite anomalous example of multiverbal interpolation:—

Si me lo la tu graçia quisiesse condonar. Millán 60, 3.

This verse is metrically perfect and may be compared with *Apol.* 166, 2 (see above). I see no way of establishing a satisfactory reading without interpolation.

4. *Libro de Alexandre* (Appendix No. 5).—In the *List of Texts* I have discussed the question of the original dialect of this poem. I believe that it has been proved beyond reasonable doubt that the first Spanish compiler was Berceo, or, at least, a near contemporary and compatriot. My own task is to attempt to show that in the original the word-order was similar to that of other XIII century texts and that the

[1] J. Cornu, *Grey*, *ley* et *rey* disyllabes dans Berceo, l'Apolonio et l'Alexandre. Etudes de phonologie espagnole et portugaise, *Romania*, IX, p. 71 et suiv.

great use of interpolation in the preserved text is only one feature of the dialect with which the original text is overlaid.

The text, as published, shows twenty-nine examples of the type *que non lo* to seven of *que lo non;* three of *si non lo* to five of *si lo non;* and five of *quando non lo* to six of *quando lo non.* The proportionate number of interpolations is thus much greater than in the text of any XIII century work presenting normal Castilian dialect. Of the twenty-nine cases of the type *que non lo,* fifeeen, or more than one-half, are of the form *que nol;* only two are of the form *que no lo* and there is no example of *que no le.* In the cases of *que nol* it is clear that the Leonese copyist could not substitute interpolation and at the same time preserve the original syllable count except by writing *quel non* and this contraction he seems to have avoided. With the pronoun *se,* contraction (*que nos*) is rare in *Alexandre,* and it seems not to occur with *me, te.* In the great majority of these cases we find the interpolated order. *Se* is contracted once with *non* before a following *le*:—

> *Que nos le* retenie castiello nin çiudat.—Alex. 285, 2.

and twice with *que* in *non* interpolations:—

> Que tal fijo ouies, *ques non* touies por meior.—Alex. 334, 4.
> Lidiaron un gran dia *ques non* podien uençer.—Alex. 600, 1.

The first of the two examples above has one syllable too many. The following reading rectifies the metre:

> Qui tal fijo ouies, nos touies por meior.

There are three examples of *que non se* and five of *que se non. Sil non* in two cases: 133, 4; 205, 4, may be for an original *si nol,* given the frequency of *que nol,* discussed above.

As between the types *quando non lo* and *quando lo non* the cases are pretty evenly divided. If in the verse:—

Quien le non obedeçiesse farie trayçion.—Alex. 2471, 4.

we suppose the original composer to have written *quien nol*, the syllable count becomes correct.

Interpolation of adverbs (other than *non*), entirely absent in Berceo, is rare in *Alexandre*, which has twenty-three cases of adverbs between exordium and pronoun-object and only four cases of interpolation. The latter are:—

Era muy alegre por*que lo assi* ueya onrrado.—Alex. 177, 4.
Sertán mas leales *si lo assy* fezieres.—Alex. 48, 3.
Ca *si lo bien* entendiesses, mucho te escarneçen.—Alex. 360, 4.
Sennor, çiegos se uean *quantos uos mal* çegaron.—Alex. 2488, 2.

The first example is too long; I suggest:—

Era se muy alegre por *quel* veie onrrado.

The third example is too long by a syllable. An emendation, *ca sil bien*, would support original interpolation. I prefer to think that the copyist added *ca* at the beginning of the verse. In the two other cases above, nothing, as far as I can see, can be adduced from metrical considerations.[1]

With the subject pronoun, interpolation in *Alexandre* is comparatively frequent. The ratio of the interpolated to the regular order is eight to thirteen. (Compare two to twenty-one in Berceo.) The interpolated cases, however, seem to offer no internal evidence of a normal original.

From our point of view, the most remarkable feature of *Alexandre* is the large number of interpolations of a kind common in western dialects (cf. chap. IV), but anomalous in Castilian of any period. Thus there are eight cases of multiverbal interpolation and three in which *non* follows the object-pronoun, although the latter does not stand next to

[1] In the fourth example, the only one in *Alex.* of the adverb *mal* occurring with pronoun objects, one is tempted to write *malçegaron*, treating it as a formation parallel to *maldecir*, *malquerer*, *maltratar*, etc. The sense, however, seems to preclude this hypothesis.

the exordium. If *Alexandre* comes from an Old Castilian original, the latter can hardly have possessed many of the class of interpolations which we are now considering. Berceo has only a single example:—

Si me lo la tu graçia quisiesse condonar.—Millán 60, 3.

I think that criticism of these examples of irregular interpolation in *Alexandre* will, in a number of cases, show that the present form is not original.

1) *Si lo yo* saber puedo non me lo podrá lograr.—Alex. 34, 3.

Merely suppressing *me* in the second half restores the metre. I propose to read:—

Si yo saber lo puedo non lo podra lograr.

I justify the order *Infinitive—Pronoun Object—Modal Verb* by its extreme frequency in *Alexandre*, Berceo and Old Castilian generally.[1]

2) Nunca te falliré *si me tu non* falleçieres.—Alex. 362, 3.

This verse can be corrected by reading *si tu nom falleçieres*, but as the contraction *nom* is uncertain for Berceo and *Alexandre* and as the pronoun subject is not expressed in the first half verse, I am inclined to omit it in the second also, in which case we have *si me non* (or with greater probability *si non me*) *falleçieres*. The sense, however, seems to demand

[1] Examples are *Alex.*, 3, 1; 14, 3; 46, 4; *et passim*. Cf. *Cid.*, vv. 813. 890, 1071, 1298, 1416, 1620, 1951, 2168, 3011. (See Nils Flaten, *The Personal Pronoun in the* Poema del Cid, Modern Language Notes, XVI, col. 72). In this construction the pronoun object is not attached to the infinitive (as erroneously indicated in the Gayangos editions by the introduction of a hyphen), but is the object of the governing verb. This appears plainly when the phrase is negative: *pagar non te lo podria*, Alex., 36, 2. Cf. Alex. 101, 2; 145, 2, etc. Berceo, *Silos*, 132, 4; Millán, 50, 4; 68, 1, etc. *Deçirla non podremos*, Silos 33, 4, is an exception and is probably not original, as the reading of the manuscript collated by Janer is *deçir non lo*. Compare, also, the note on the edition of *Fern. Gonç.* (*List of Texts*, No. 6).

stressed objects. I think we may go still farther and write :—

A ti non falliré si *a mi* non falleres.[1]

3) Non tornarie rienda quien *se a él* llegaua.—Alex. 113, 4.

The first half verse lacks a syllable. The second shows *él* before initial *l*, in which position, as we have seen, Berceo preferred the form *elle* or *elli*.[2] The original, then, may have read somewhat as follows :—

Nunca tornarie rienda qui a elli llegava.

4) Quando *se omnes uien* catan uassallos e sennores.—Alex. 1666, 1.

I suppress *bien* and restore normal order as follows :—

Quando omnes *se* catan uassallos e sennores.

5) Quando *la el rey* dixo quierolo yo cuntar.—Alex. 1935, 4.

The first half verse, counting *rey* as two syllables, is too long. The context (see Appendix No. 5, § 5) seems to demand *quanto* rather than *quando*, in which case *la* is superfluous. I propose :—

Quanto el rey dixo quiero lo yo cuntar.

6) Quanto *uos omne non* podrie dezir nen cuntar.—Alex. 1967, 4.

In this example the first half verse is too long, the second, too short. I propose :—

Quanto *non vos* podrie omne dir nen cuntar.[3]

7) Quellos *te non* digan en que puede finar.—Alex. 2318, 3.

[1] My impression is that *fallir* had simple as well as inchoative forms in the perfect system, but I cannot now cite any instances.

[2] The form *elle* (in Berceo usually *elli*) is properly a nominative but appears to have been used after prepositions as well. Cf. *Las oveias con* elli *avien muy grant sabor*, Silos 20, 4.

[3] The existence of an infinitive *dir* seems attested by the Castilian future *diré*, *dir-vos-he*, etc., but I cannot now cite any examples of the simple infinitive.

The first half verse is short. If *quellos* represents a contraction in the original text, I should propose, *qu'ellos a ti non digan*, etc., but *que ellos non te digan* is probably to be preferred.

The three examples following are anomalous in Castilian, but find frequent parallels in Galician and Portuguese texts (see chap. IV).

1) Desque *lo uisto* ouo nos le pudo asconder.—Alex. 160, 2.

I propose the reading:—

Desque *uisto lo* ouo[1] nos pudo asconder.

2) Aqui *te merçed* pedir si tu lo destruyeres.—Alex. 219, 1.

The verse is evidently corrupt. I propose:—

Merçed *te* pediré si tu lo destruyeres.

Compare: *merçé te pido*, Berceo, Loor. 98, 3. The verse is uncertain as it occurs at the beginning of a stanza with five verses and does not seem to connect with the four following which make a regular stanza.

3) E lo que yo quis nunca *lo uos* contradixiestes.—Alex. 2120, 4.

The first half verse is short, the second, long. Transfering *vos* to the first verb and striking out the second *lo*, we produce a regular verse:—

E lo que *yo vos* quis nunca contradixiestes.

If the text criticisms made above are at all tenable, it follows that interpolation in *Alexandre* is not sensibly different from that in Berceo, and that in the transmitted texts of both, most of the examples of it are due to copyists.

5. *Poema de Fernán Gonçález* (Appendix No. 6).—Interpolation is rare in this work. There is in the manuscript

[1] For this order cf. *Cid*, vv. 62, 261, 306, 366, 845, 848, 1075, etc.

only one example of interpolated *non, Si los non acorryan,* 530, 4, as against eleven of regular order (type *que non lo* 8; *si* 1; *quando* 2). There is no example of interpolation in the *bien* category and only one case of an interpolated subject pronoun: *quanto que te yo digo,* 238, 3. In the latter category there are five (accepting Marden's readings, six) cases of regular order. There are two anomalous cases:—

1) Que ge la conquerryan mas *non lo byen* asmavan.—F. Gonç. 132, 4.

I should prefer to read *mas bien non lo asmavan,* or perhaps, *pero bien nol asmavan,* although the versification does not demand any change.

2) Sennor, dicho te he lo que *te dezir* queria.—F. Gonç. 344, 1.

Marden emends the verse by striking out *te,* and incidentally removes the anomalous order.[1]

C.

Minor Texts of the xiii Century.

1. *El Cantar de los Cantares* (Appendix No. 7).—This xiii century Castilian version of the Song of Solomon presents only two examples of the categories in which interpolation usually occurs. The first example, *si non te connoces,* cap. 1, v. 7, is regular; the second, *por que nos assi coniurest,* cap. v, v. 9, shows interpolation.

2. The *Poème d'amour, Débat du vin et de l'eau,* and *Dix commandements* (Appendix No. 8 abc), three short compositions preserved in a xiii century manuscript, show no examples at all of interpolation. This might be expected from the fact that the manuscript seems to have been written in Aragon.

[1] With regard to the position of pronouns in phrases containing infinitives with governing verbs, see the note above to *Alex.* 34, 3.

D.

SUMMARY.

In the preceding examination of texts of works of the XIII century it will have been noted that in them interpolation is relatively rare. I have attempted to prove also that in the texts in which it is most frequent, many of the cases of it are not original. It should be noted that interpolation is most frequent in those texts which exhibit western traits[1] and entirely absent in those of eastern (Aragonese) origin.[2] It is not possible, however, to maintain that all cases of interpolation in XIII century works are due to copyists, because one or two cases of it appear in XIII century manuscripts.[3] It was pointed out, also, that the early occurrence of interpolation of the pronoun subject seems to be better supported than that of other categories.

[1] *Alex.*, and to some extent also, Berceo. For traits of western dialect in the texts of the latter, see Hanssen : *Misc. de Versif. Castell.*, págs. 4–5.

[2] *P. d' A.*, *Dêbat*, *Mand.*

[3] See note at the end of the discussion of interpolation in the *Cid* and *Cant. Cant.*

CHAPTER II.

INTERPOLATION IN CASTILIAN WORKS OF THE XIV CENTURY.

A.

Alfonso el Sabio to Don Juan Manuel.

Although the greater number of the monuments which we shall study in this chapter belong to the XIV century, the period embraces documents from the early years of the reign of Alfonso X (1252–1284). The literary monuments of Alfonso X and his immediate successors are classed here, rather than with the XIII century texts discussed in the last chapter, because of their quite different standing in the matter of interpolation. The Court of Castile in the latter half of the XIII century was, we know, influenced by Galician traditions. Alfonso X cultivated Galician verse, and it is probable that most persons at his court were more or less familiar with the western idiom. To what extent the use of interpolation in Castilian texts is the result of Galician influence, it is difficult to say, but the sudden appearance of interpolation as a regular phenomenon of Castilian writing in the reign of Alfonso X, compared with its rarity in works of the period just preceding, points, rather unmistakably as I think, to an outside influence. I do not believe, however, that it was merely a literary affectation. The regularity with which certain categories of interpolation continue to be employed by all sorts of writers of Castilian throughout the XIV century, seems sufficiently to indicate that it was, or had become, a phenomenon of Castilian speech as well. Even so it may have received its first vogue from imitation of the Galicianisms of courtiers.

1. *Documentos de Alfonso X*, A. D. 1253 and 1254 (Appendix No. 9).—Although the order *que non lo* is still used in a majority of the cases, yet *que lo non* also occurs. There are in the documents examined no examples of interpolated adverbs other than *non*. *Que lo yo*, on the other hand, seems to be the regular order, there being four examples of it and none of *que yo lo*.

2. *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*. Extract from the *Crónica General* (Appendix No. 10).—The critical text of the seven chapters examined shows a great preponderance of interpolations in the *non* and *yo* categories, but no example in the *bien* category.[1] There are thirteen cases of interpolated *non* to three of normal order; eight of interpolated subject pronouns to six of normal order. Of the six latter, four are in the category *quando yo lo*. Interpolation of the subject pronoun with exordiums other than *que, si*, is in general not so frequent. In this regard compare the text of the *Cid*. The text of *Infantes de Lara* shows also eight examples of nominal and multiverbal interpolation and seven of anomalous interpolation.

The discrepancies of the eight manuscripts on which the text is based make the determination of the original status of interpolation in *Infantes de Lara* rather difficult. As will be seen by reference to the notes in the *List of Texts* (No. 10) there are three groups of texts. The only ones grouped with *E*, which the edition mainly follows, are a Galician or Portuguese version *A* and a late Castilian copy *I*. The latter modernizes at many points and with special frequency substitutes normal order for interpolated. It cannot be argued that *I* is based on an older text with less frequent

[1] In this regard *Inf. de Lara* contrasts strikingly with some other Castilian texts; compare, for instance, the occurrence of *que lo bien* in the text of the *Siete Partidas*, treated in the note appended to the discussion of *Inf. de Lara* in this chapter.

interpolations, because once (pág. 221, l. 11), *I* has *si lo uos* where *E* and the others have *si uos lo*.

The groups *B* and *GYTZ* are apparently based on texts with fewer interpolations than *EA*, although the places where they all agree in a normal order against the interpolated order of *EA* are not very numerous. Examples are: *que lo non EA*, *q. n. lo* all others (p. 266, l. 11); *aun quel ella quiera E*, normal order in *IBYTGZ* (215, 11); *que uos yo diga EA*, all others suppress *yo* (223, 13).

In the case of nominal, multiverbal and anomalous interpolations the discrepancies of the manuscripts are much greater. The only example for which no variants are given is *que uos esta mi carta aduze*, 218, 23. In five cases at least, all other manuscripts agree in having normal orders as opposed to the interpolations of *EA*, viz.: p. 228, l. 10; 228, 18; 215, 10; 225, 5; 225, 19. (The variants are indicated in the *Appendix*, No. 10, §§ 4 and 5.)

The large number of anomalous and multiverbal interpolations in the text of *Inf. de Lara* plainly indicate, I think, Galician influence. Manuscript *E* must descend from one written by somebody very familiar with the western dialects. Whether the original composed for Don Alfonso presented as many anomalous interpolations is extremely doubtful. In those cases, at least, where all the other manuscripts except *EA* exhibit a normal order, it would seem as if a critical text should reject the interpolated order. It is possible, however, that the original was written in Castilian by a western writer who unconsciously introduced his western syntax. On this supposition, *E*, as the oldest text, has preserved more of the original interpolations, while the other later manuscripts represent redactions that tend more and more to conform to the syntax usual in Castilian, and so reject the interpolations of a non-Castilian character. It is difficult to decide between these two hypotheses without

evidence for or against western influence in the original drawn from other sources than the observation of interpolation.[1]

3. *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* (Appendix No. 11).—The twenty chapters of this text which I have examined show only such interpolations as are quite normal for works of a somewhat later date. In the *non* category cases are equally divided between interpolation and normal order. As the edition seems to be defective in many ways, I do not think it safe to base any conclusions on the examples of interpolation which it offers.

B.

DON JUAN MANUEL TO LÓPEZ DE AYALA.

1. *Don Juan Manuel* (Appendix No. 12abc).—In the works of Don Juan, son of the Infante Don Manuel and

[1] I have not included in the *List of Texts* the greatest monument of the reign of Alfonso X, the *Siete Partidas*, as the transmitted text bears rather the character of a XIV century work than of one of the period of Don Alfonso. The *Siete Partidas* were promulgated as the law of Spain first in 1348, and the mauuscripts which have come down to us probably represent redactions of that period. In their use of interpolation the *Siete Partidas* stand quite parallel to the works of Don Juan Manuel. Below I give a summary of interpolations from the beginning of *Partida I* to *Partida I, Título IV, Ley XIV* (pp. 1–52). I cite page and line of the edition following:—

Las Siete Partidas del rey don Alfonso el Sabio, cotejados con varios códices antiguos por la Real Academia de la Historia. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1807.

1. a) Que non lo: 6, 21; 11, 12; 54, 6. Si: 23, 14.
   b) Que lo non: 13, 2; 24, 13; 26, 28; 28, 8; 34, 5; 42, 3; 52, 2; 55, 31; 56, 4. Si: 49, 25. Quando: 2, 14.
2. a) Que bien lo: 53, 16.
   b) Que lo bien: 5, 11; 13, 25; 15, 16; 42, 2; 55, 18. Si: 15, 1. Quando: 51, 6.
3. a) Que yo lo, etc.: No example.
   b) Que lo yo: 2, 18; 4, 12; 8, 13. Quando: 22, 5; 27, 6.
4. Anomalous: quien la bien recibe como debe et *la bien* guarda, 51, 6.

nephew of the *Rey Sabio*, we can best study interpolation in Castilian writing of the first half of the XIV century. This is the classic period of Old Spanish when the literary language had become more or less fixed through the literary efforts of the preceding epoch.

With what degree of faithfulness the transmitted texts of Don Juan Manuel preserve the original word order, it is difficult to determine, but I am inclined to think that the proportion of interpolations in the original was much the same as it is now. The following table exhibits the distribution of interpolation in the text of the three works examined:

Tabular Summary of Interpolation in Juan Manuel.

	Normal Order.				Interpolation.			
	Que.	Si.	Quando.		Que.	Si.	Quando.	
1. Category *non*.								
Caza	13	3	2	18	19	3	0	22
Cav. et Esc.	14	4	2	20	15	4	1	20
Patron.	27	3	3	33	32	0	0	32
	54	10	7	71	66	7	1	74
2. Category *bien*.								
Caza	8	0	1	9	3	0	0	3
Cav. et Esc.	5	0	0	5	6	0	0	6
Patron.	6	1	1	8	4	1	0	5
	19	1	2	22	13	1	0	14
3. Category *yo*.								
Caza	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	3
Cav. et Esc.	6	2	0	8	13	0	2	15
Patron.	5	1	2	8	5	0	2	7
	12	3	2	17	18	0	7	25

Interpolation.

	4. Nominal and multiverbal.				5. Anomalous.
Caza	6	0	0	6	0
Cav. et Esc.	0	1	0	1	2
Patron.	1	0	0	1	1
	7	1	0	8	3

It will be noticed that in the *non* categories interpolation and normal order are about equal, while with other adverbs the normal order considerably predominates.

I have not been able to discover that there is any criterion, syntactical or phonetic, which differentiates the cases of interpolated from those of normal order. The orders *que lo non* and *que non lo* are used with apparent indifference. *Le* before *non* is regularly contracted with *que* (*quel non*), *se* is not so contracted (*que se non*). When *le* follows the negative it is in Don Juan Manuel usually left uncontracted (*que non le*). It does not seem that individual adverbs show any predilection for interpolation. All of them follow or precede the pronoun object with apparent indifference.

Interpolation of the subject pronoun is much more frequent than normal order. As has been pointed out, this seems to be the type of interpolation most prevalent in Castille, and the one which first makes its appearance. Individual works, however, show different results; compare in this regard Juan Ruiz. It should be noted, too, that if *Cav. et Esc.* were omitted from the count, normal and interpolated order would nearly balance in the subject pronoun category. Of the fifteen subject pronoun interpolations in *Cav. et Esc.* ten are of the form: *que me vos fazedes* (*feziestes*, *preguntades*, etc.). This occurs as a regular formula, there being only two examples of *que vos me.*

Of the eight cases of multiverbal interpolation, six are in *Caza* and four of them are repetitions of the formula: *Los girifaltes* (or *neblis*, etc.) *de que se agora mas pagan.* I suspect that this is a Galicianism borrowed from some older work on falconry.

There are only three interpolations to be classed as anomalous. One of them: *por quantas merçedes le dios fizo*, *Cav. et Esc.* 510, 20, probably belongs in the category of nominal interpolations as *quantas merçedes* has the force of a relative

exordium. The interpolation in *Patron.*, 69, 9; *a quanto floxa mente voslo el rruega*, appears to be a corrupt reading, as all the other manuscripts agree in rejecting *el.* This leaves only one example of anomalous interpolation unexplained: *Et alo que cosa son los angeles, fijo, ya vos yo dixe que* . . . . *Cav. et Esc.* 470, 6.

As has been stated, I regard interpolations of other forms than those included in the first three categories (*non, bien, yo*) of my classification scheme as abnormal in Castilian and as almost certain indication of western influence. I adduce the works of Don Juan Manuel as representing the norm of interpolation in Castilian at the time when it had reached its greatest development.

2. *Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita* (Appendix No. 13).—Examination of the diplomatic edition of the *Libro de Buen Amor* gives the following results.

In the *non* category there are forty-four cases of normal order to thirty-one interpolations, distributed as follows:—

que non lo 35, *si* 5, *quando* 4.

que lo non 26, *si* 3, *quando* 2.

Manuscript *T* shows the interpolated order once where *S* has the normal; manuscript *G*, on the other hand, in eight instances shows normal order instead of the interpolated order of *S.* The contraction *nol* for *non le*, rare in the texts of Don Juan Manuel, is rather frequent and in some cases the metre demands *nol* where *non le* is written, e. g.:

Achaque le leuanta por que *non le* de del pan, 93, 2.

Contraction of *non se*, and possibly also of *non me*, appears to be demanded in a number of cases. Cf. 161, 3; 421, 4; 623, 4; 731, 4. *Quel non* (in Don Juan Manuel regular for *que le non*) occurs once (1129, 3) and there is no instance of *que le non.*

With other adverbs than *non*, the normal order is in a marked majority (thirty-one cases of normal order to eleven of interpolated). Three of the latter cases are normal in the manuscripts *GT*.

In the category of subject pronouns, the same preponderance of normal order is visible (twenty cases of normal order to six of interpolation). The proportion of interpolations in this category as compared with that of the same category in other texts, seems small, but there is substantial agreement of the manuscripts, *G* showing one case of interpolation where *S* has normal order.

There are only four examples of the category *que lo* — — (Appendix No. 13, §§ 10b and 11) and one anomalous interpolation (1482, 2). In three of these five cases of irregular interpolation *G* shows normal order.

A critical revision of the text of *Buen Amor* might change somewhat the proportions of normal and interpolated order as indicated above. A rather large proportion of the verses of the poem are metrically imperfect. Some can easily be amended; others require considerable changes in the language and it seems doubtful whether they formed perfect alexandrines in the original. An investigation of the five examples last mentioned shows that at least three stand in verses metrically imperfect:—

1) Segund *le dios le* demostrase fazer señas con la mano, 51, 3.

Evidently one of the *le*'s is to be dropped, and the reading of *G*: *quales dios les mostrase*, suggests that it is the first one. I amend: *Segund dios le mostrase fer señas con la mano.*

2) Con lo *quel dios* diere paselo bien fermoso, 780, 4.

The first half verse is short. Juan Ruiz may have written *que le dios* but it is more probable that he wrote *que dios le.*

3) Quered salyr al mundo aque *vos dios* fizo nasçer, 917, 4.

The second half verse is too long but is difficult to correct.

4) Ssy *vos lo bien* sopiesedes qual es e quan preçiado, 732, 3.

This verse is metrically correct but *G* presents the reading *si vos bien lo.*

5) De eso que vos rresçelades ya *vos yo* asseguro, 1482, 2.

The second half verse is metrically perfect, but *G* shows the reading *yo uos asseguro.* The interpolation in *S* may be due to a desire to avoid the concurrence of *ya yo.*

The foregoing makes it seem probable that in Juan Ruiz, as in Don Juan Manuel, interpolation was confined to the three categories in which it is normal in XIV century Castilian.

Criticism of the cases of pronoun subject interpolation tends to diminish still further their number, already small :—

1) Segund *quelo yo* deseo . . . . 684, 3.
2) . . . . ante *quela el* asa, 1350, 3.
3) . . . . ante que *gelo yo* diga, 1497, 2.
4) Pues *vos yo* tengo, hermana . . . . 989, 4.

Suppression of the subject pronoun in the four half verses just quoted makes them regular.

5) Sy *vos yo* engañare, el ami lo demande, 817, 4.

The reading of *G* is: *sy yo a vos engañare. . . .* It is possible to posit an original reading:

Sy a vos engañare el a mi lo demande . . .

Yo was then added to remove the ambiguity of the first construction, and finally *si a vos yo* changed to *si vos yo* in order to rectify the metre.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the exact status of interpolation in Juan Ruiz is rather uncertain. In the transmitted text it is very much less frequent than in the courtly prose of Don Juan Manuel, and attempts at text criticism seem to indicate that in the original it was even much less frequent

than in the text. As the Archpriest of Hita represents rather the popular tradition of Castilian than the courtly idiom of the literary successors of Don Alfonso the Learned, infrequency of interpolation in his verse may be another argument for the attribution of interpolation in Castilian to the influence of western dialects on the court speech. It should be noted, too, that Juan Ruiz lived in New Castile and consequently found himself locally removed from the centres of western influence.

3. *Visión de Filiberto* (Appendix No. 17).—In the *List of Texts* I have placed this work at the end of the XIV century, as that is the date of the manuscript and there is no indication of the time of composition. Found in one of the manuscripts of *Buen Amor*, its treatment of interpolation leads me to class it with that work. The text is too short, however, and offers too few examples of the interpolation categories to give much weight to such a determination.

The piece contains no case of interpolation of *non*, with three cases of normal order. There are three examples of interpolated adverbs and five of adverbs in normal order. Two examples of interpolated subject pronouns occur, and three of normal order. One nominal interpolation occurs: *sy te dios crio*, 53, 42.

4. Pero López de Ayala: *Rimado de Palacio* (Appendix No. 15).—In chronological order the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* follows immediately upon the Archpriest of Hita, but the discussion of it will be taken up in connection with that of the much later *Amadis*, both works betraying marks of an original in western idiom.

Of the Castilian writers whom I have examined, López de Ayala is the latest one that makes any considerable use of interpolation. He seems to represent the last phase of the courtly literature which began with the *Rey Sabio*.

In the first five hundred stanzas of the *Rimado* I find the status of interpolation to be as follows: In the *non* category, nine cases of normal order to three of interpolation; in the adverb category, fourteen of normal order to six of interpolation; in the subject pronoun category, two of normal order to eight of interpolation; three cases in the category *Que lo* — — and three anomalous examples.

From the above it will be seen that interpolation predominates only in the case of the subject pronoun. This, as has already been pointed out, is the species of interpolation most general in Old Spanish, Juan Ruiz forming an exception in this regard.[1]

The proportion of multiverbal and anomalous interpolations is rather large, but some of these cases are probably not original and others can be explained.

1) Que *les yo aquí* diré ca los he bien usados, 63, 4.

Suppression of *yo* corrects the metre, leaving an interpolation of the ordinary type *que lo bien.*

2) Salvo obedïençia que *les leal* deuemos, 236, 4.

Leal uninflected can only be an adverb, and consequently this example also belongs in the category *que bien.*

3) Asi *les Dios* aluengue los dias de las vidas, 229, 3.

The composer probably had in mind a construction *así que les dios aluengue* and omitted *que* for the sake of the metre. *Dios* is the oftenest occurring nominal interpolation and is so much more frequent than any other that during the earlier part of this investigation I put it in a category by itself.

[1] I say that this sort of interpolation is the most general, not the most frequent. As the *yo* category occurs much less often than the *non* category, the actual number of interpolations is usually greater in the latter, but in most works the ratio of interpolation to normal order is higher in the former.

4) Alguna petiçion e *la non* va recabdar, 412, 2.

The second half verse is too long. If instead of *e la* we write *que* the *enjambement* with the preceding verse is less violent and the anomalous interpolation disappears, thus :—

Por ende non se quexe quien a Dios va rogar
Alguna petiçion que non va recabdar.[1]

[1] Prof. J. D. M. Ford has communicated to me a note of his on another example of anomalous interpolation in the *Rimado* :—

Con quien *yo me* fasta agora de todos defendí, 720, 6.

Professor Ford suggests that the anomalous position of the object pronoun is due to metrical necessity. It can be contracted with *yo* (*yom*), but in any other position spoils the verse. It seems to me that contraction of *me* in a text as late as that of the *Rimado* would need to be supported by other examples before it could be accepted. I incline to think that *yo* in this verse was merely repeated by a copyist from the preceding verse. Suppressing *yo* in the second, the two verses read :—

(Pues) a tan alto Sennor yo so acomendado,
Con quien me fast*a* *a*gora de todos defendí.

The interpolation then remains multiverbal and not anomalous. Professor Ford's suggestion of metrical necessity remains equally applicable to this reading also.

I have examined one other work by Ayala, but I do not include it in the *Appendix*, as I have not copied all the occurrences of the several categories. The edition is entitled :—

El libro de las aves de caça del canciller Pero López de Ayala, con las glosas del duque de Alburquerque. (Pascual de Gayangos, Edr.). Madrid : Sociedad de Bibliófilos, 1869.

In this work the proportion of interpolations seems to be rather higher than in the *Rimado*. They are all, however, in the regular categories (*non*, *bien*, *yo*). The works on falconry seem to be largely copied one from another, and the greater use of interpolation in the *Libro de la Caça* than in the *Rimado* is probably due to portions of it having been adapted from older works on the subject.

C.

Summary.

Enough material has, I think, been presented in this chapter and the accompanying portions of the *Appendix* to show the general features of interpolation in XIV century texts. If interpolation in XIV century Castilian is a feature borrowed from western dialects, the conditions of its occurrence are, at any rate, much more narrowly defined than in the latter, as may be seen by comparing chapter IV, in which Galician and Portuguese texts are discussed. Chapter III will deal with texts which throw light on the chronology of the disappearance of interpolation from Castilian.

CHAPTER III.

SPANISH TEXTS OF THE XV AND XVI CENTURIES.

A.

Castilian Texts Showing Occasional Interpolation.

1. *El Libro de Exenplos por A. B. C.* (Appendix No. 19).—Although the Paris manuscript (Appendix No. 19 a) is considerably more modern than the Madrid manuscript (Appendix No. 19 b) the occurrence of interpolation is substantially the same in both.

The portion examined of the published text of the Madrid manuscript gives the following results: In the *non* category, eighteen examples of normal order (type *que non lo* 16, *si* 1, *quando* 1) to two interpolations of the type *que lo non;* in the *bien* category, nine cases of normal order and none of

interpolation; in the *yo* category, five of normal order (type *que yo lo* 4, *si* 1) to one interpolation (type *que lo yo*). No interpolation occurs outside of these three regular categories.

In the published portion of the Paris manuscript there are in the *non* category twelve cases of normal order (all of the type *que non lo*) to five cases of interpolated order (two of the type *que lo non*, three of *si lo non*); in the *yo* category, five cases of normal order (*que* 4, *si* 1) to one of interpolated order (type *que lo yo*); one anomalous example.

Contrary to what we should expect, the numerical ratio of interpolated to normal order appears to be higher in the more modern Paris manuscript than in the older Madrid manuscript. If, however, we remove the category *si non lo*—*si lo non*, the ratio becomes nearly equal (for the *non* category, Madrid text 17 : 2, Paris text 12 : 2). The Paris text shows three cases in the *si non lo*—*si lo non* category, all interpolated, while it happens that in the portion of the Madrid text examined, there is but one case in this category and that one shows normal order.

As indicated above, the Paris text has one example of anomalous interpolation :—

Si *los non* amamos e *los non* honrramos.—Exenpl. 503, 19.

The interpolation in the first clause is reckoned in the *si lo non* category above. The interpolation of the second clause is, I think, not to be considered as an independent example of anomalous interpolation, but as a mere repetition of the word order of the first clause with ellipsis of *si*.[1]

2. *La Estoria de los Quatro Dotores de la Santa Eglesia* and *La Estoria del rey Anemur, etc.* (Appendix No. 20 ab).— In the first hundred *capita* of the first named text, I find :

[1] Cf. Quien *la bien* recibe como debe et *la bien* guarda. Siete Partidas, 1, Tít. IV, Ley 6, pág. 51, l. 6.

1st) In the *non* category, seventy examples of normal order (fifty-four of the type *que non lo*) and one example of interpolated order of the type *que lo non;* 2nd) In the *bien* category, four of normal order (*si* 1, *quando* 3) and one of interpolated order (type *que lo bien*); 3rd) In the *yo* category, ten of normal order (*que* 6, *si* 4) and one of interpolated order (type *quando lo yo*); one multiverbal interpolation, *que lo el non.*

The one example of an interpolated adverb is only apparent. *Por que lo mal trayesen,* 11, 27, should read *por que lo maltrayesen.* The only irregular interpolation: *maguer que lo el non quisiese,* 47, 5, is rather a combination of the types *que lo yo* and *que lo non* than a multiverbal interpolation in the ordinary sense.

In the *Estoria del rey Anemur,* although found in the same manuscript as the preceding and translated from the same Latin source, the proportionate number of interpolations is considerably higher. In the *non* category there are twenty-five examples of normal order (*que* 19, *si* 3, *quando* 3) and three of interpolated (*que* 1, *si* 2); in the *bien* category, two of normal (*que* 1, *quando* 1) and two of interpolated, both of type *que lo bien;* in the *yo* category, one of normal order, *commo tu me echaste* (363, 41) and three of the type *que lo yo.*

In this text, just as in the *Exenp.*, there is a greater tendency to interpolation of *non* after *si lo* than after *que lo.* In contrast to the use of *Exenp.* and *Quatro Dot.*, interpolation predominates in the *yo* category, placing the text in this regard on a par with most XIV century texts. In view of so marked a difference in the treatment of the *yo* category, it does not seem likely that *Barlaam* and *Quatro Dot.* are the work of the same translator.

3. *Leyenda del abad don Juan de Montemayor* (Appendix No. 22). The text taken from Almela's *Compendio* shows

four examples of interpolation in the *non* category, all of the type *que lo non*,[1] and five of normal order (*que* 4, *si* 1). In the *yo* category there is one interpolation: *mejor que lo tu dizes* (12, 10), and no occurrence of normal order.

The text of the popular edition of the legend, printed in 1562, contains no example of interpolation. *Que no le dexasse vivir, etc.*, pág. 32, l. 27, is the only passage parallel to one in Almela with interpolation (*e que lo non dexase bevir, etc.*, 9, 14; *vide* Appendix). It would be very remarkable if any cases of interpolation were preserved in a text of the latter half of the XVI century.

The large number of interpolations in Almela's text can hardly be a characteristic of his speech, seeing that he flourished in the latter part of the XV century. It seems safe to assert that they are derived from the source whence he derived the legend. This source, according to Menéndez-Pidal, was a prose redaction of an older Castilian epic. There is nothing in the character of the interpolations which betrays Portuguese influence. They are all of the types usual in XIV century Castilian. The number of cases, however, is rather small to make the argument conclusive.

B.

Spanish Texts of Aragonese Character.

1. *Poema de José* (Appendix No. 16).—This poem contains no examples of interpolation, although it presents a good number of occurrences of the regular categories and particularly of the *yo* category.

2. Pedro de Luna: *De las Consolaciones de la Vida humana* (Appendix No. 18).—In the ten books of this work

[1] One of these cases is not taken from the edited text, but from the agreement on it of three manuscripts.—*Vide* Append.

examined, I find in the *non* category eleven examples of normal order and none of interpolated; in the *bien* category, one of normal and two of interpolated; in the *yo* category, none of normal and two of interpolated.

The occurrence of pronouns, as in most works translated from the Latin, is rather restricted. At first sight the ratio of interpolations to cases of normal order seems too large for a text written in Aragon. It will be seen, however, that all four cases of interpolation occur in quotations. In these cases the translator may have availed himself, consciously or unconsciously, of older Castilian versions of the works quoted. The two cases of the type *que lo bien* are both a quotation from Saint Gregory in the same words: *Los males que nos aqui apremien.* The two cases of the type *que lo yo* are quoted from the Old Testament (see Appendix).

3. *Souhaits de bienvenue, etc.* (Appendix No. 23). This poem is adduced as an example of a text written in Castilian by a Catalan or Aragonese. It shows no vestige of interpolated order, but its evidence for absence of interpolation in Eastern dialects would be more satisfactory if its date were earlier.

C.

Castilian Texts Without Interpolation.

1. *Comedia de Calisto et Melibea* (Appendix No. 24).
2. Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de la Lengua* (No. 25).
3. *Lazarillo de Tormes* (No. 26).
4. Luis de León, *La Perfecta Casada* (No. 27).

These texts, covering nearly the whole of the XVI century, show not a single example of interpolation.[1]

[1] Still earlier evidence for the disappearance of interpolation is afforded by the following brief text:—

The *Diálogo de la Lengua*, however, deserves special mention because it is probably the first work in which the phenomenon is noticed. In two places Valdés mentions the interpolated order or adduces an example of it,[1] and from these passages we gather that he considered it incorrect and antiquated.

D.

SUMMARY.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to show that after the close of the XIV century interpolation becomes very

Libro de Cetrería de Evangelista y una Profeçia del mismo, con prólogo, variantes, notas y glosario por A. Paz y Melia, *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, I. bd., ss. 222–246.

This text is published from a manuscript of the XV century in the Bibl. Nac. de Madrid. The author flourished in the reign of Enrique IV (1454–1474). Following are references to the cases of normal order :—

1. Que non lo : p. 233, l. 21 ; 234, 5 ; 235, 7 ; 235, 16 ; 238, 32 ; 244, 12 ; 244, 30 ; 245, 20. Si non lo : 227, 19. Quando : 235, 11.

2. Que bien lo : 227, 10 ; 227, 21 ; 230, 15 ; 234, 13 ; 234, 15. Si bien lo : 228, 5. Quando : 227, 18.

3. Que yo lo : No example.

[1] "Pues sabed que lo es, por tanto os guardad de caer en el. Y tambien de caer en otro que es a mi parecer aun mas feo que este, y por esto creo que son mas los que tropieçan en el ; este es que no pongais el verbo al fin de la clausula quando el de suyo no se cae, como hazen los que quieren imitar a los que scriven mal latin.

— Esso nos declarad un poco mas.

— Digo que os deveis guardar siempre de hablar como algunos dêsta manera : *Siempre te bien quise* y *nunca te bien hize*, porque es muy mejor dezir *Siempre te quise bien* y *nunca te hize bien.*"—Pág. 404, ll. 22–30.

The second passage occurs in a discussion of the style and language of *Amadis de Gaula* :

"Pareceme tambien mal aquella manera de dezir *si me vos prometeis* por *si vos me prometeis*, y aquello *de lo no descubrir* por *de no descubrirlo.* ¿ Que os parece dêsto ?

— Que lo aveis considerado bien, con tanto que aya siempre lugar la disculpa del antiguedad, la qual vos no le podeis negar de ninguna manera."—Pág. 7, ll. 7–11.

rare in Castilian texts; that in works of the second half of the XV century we can regard it only as an archaism inherited from older sources;[1] and that in texts of the XVI century the phenomenon is nearly or quite absent.

Works written in Aragon and its dependencies are grouped together in accordance with the view developed in chapter II, that interpolation is a feature of language due to western influence, one which, for a time, obtained a considerable hold in Castilian speech but which can hardly have reached the provinces not in direct contact with the court language of the kingdom of Castile and Leon.[2]

[1] *Amadis de Gaula* would naturally fall in this class, but on account of its very special character in the matter of interpolation, it will be discussed in connection with Galician and Portuguese texts.

[2] Instances of interpolation are not entirely absent from Aragonese texts. In the *Actas del Parlamento de Cataluña*, there are a few documents written in Spanish among a much greater number in Catalan and Latin. The legal style in which these documents are composed avoids the use of simple personal pronouns and renders them ill-adapted to the investigation of interpolation. I have found only one example :—

Año de 1409. Convenio celebrado entre don Martín de Aragón y su sobrino don Juan 2° de Castilla. . . . . e mandara so çiertas penas a los cogedores et arrendadores de la dicha quema *que la non* lieven nin coxgan nin exiguan . . . (Colecc. de Documentos de la Corona de Aragón, t. I, pág. 100, l. 17).

The document quoted above is decidedly Castilian in character and may well be the production of a Castilian secretary.

CHAPTER IV.

INTERPOLATION IN GALICIAN AND PORTUGUESE TEXTS AND IN SPANISH TEXTS DERIVED FROM GALICIAN OR PORTUGUESE ORIGINALS.

Introductory Note.

As this investigation is primarily concerned with interpolation in Spanish, the texts discussed in this chapter have not been examined with a view to writing the history of interpolation in Galicia and Portugal. Only enough material is presented to illustrate the peculiar characteristics of interpolation in the western idiom. For the sake of convenience and uniformity, the nomenclature and arrangement, adopted for Spanish texts, are followed here, although in a treatise on interpolation in Portuguese a somewhat different classification of material would be preferable. The cases classed as anomalous in Castilian are in Portuguese and Galician hardly to be called so, but the designation is allowed to stand.

A.

Old Galician and Old Portuguese Texts.

1. Alfonso (X) el Sabio: *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Appendix No. 28).—In the first fifteen *cantigas* I find: 1st) In the *non* category one case of normal order to three of interpolation; 2d) In the *bien* category none of normal to five of interpolated; 3rd) In the *yo* category, one of normal, none of interpolated. So far we might be dealing with almost any Spanish text of the end of the XIII century. In the next category (nominal and multiverbal interpolation), however, we meet nineteen cases (*que* 9, *si* 2, *quando* 8). Add

to these four anomalous cases and it results that there are twenty-three interpolations of types abnormal in Castilian to eight of types predominant in that idiom.

Of the anomalous examples, one:—

Por quanto mal *nos ele* buscaua.—Cant. xv, 11, 4.

is probably to be classed under the type *quando lo yo*. In another case we find interpolation after *et*, anomalous in Castilian but not uncommon in Galician and Portuguese:—

Et *se guarida* achou.—vii, 4, 2.

2. Diniz de Portugal, *Cantigas d'amor* (Appendix No. 29).—Examination of the first fifty *cantigas* shows: 1st) In the *non* category, one case of normal order to fifteen of interpolated; 2nd) In the *bien* category, seven of normal to six of interpolated; 3rd) In the *yo* category, one of normal to eleven of interpolated. It will be observed that interpolation of adverbs (*bien* category) is not so prevalent as that of *non* or of the pronoun subject. What is true of this text seems to be true in general of Portuguese and Galician texts, the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X forming an exception in this regard.

In the category of nominal and multiverbal interpolations there are thirty-three cases (*que* 13, *si* 8, *quando* 12). Fourteen more cases of interpolation are classed as anomalous. We have, then, forty-seven cases of types of interpolation exceptional in Castilian to thirty-two of the ordinary varieties, a ratio not so high as was found in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X, but still strikingly large.

The examples classed as anomalous may be analysed as follows. Four of them, viz:—

qual mingua *vos pois* ei de fazer, v. 4.
quam de coraçom *vos eu* am', 72.
com quaes olhos *vos eu* vi, 483.
e por quam boa *vos el* fez, 790.

are probably to be taken as having relative exordiums and

are thus to be referred to the category *quando lo yo* (except the first which is rather *quando lo bien*). In two cases :—

e *me bem* esforçei, 155.
e *m' el nom* fôr, 866.

the connective *e* has the function of an exordium, a phenomenon common in Galician and Portuguese, but quite anomalous in Castilian, as was already pointed out in the discussion of the *Cantigas* of Don Alfonso. In the remaining examples, with one exception, the object pronoun follows an adverb. The adverb *pero* in three of these cases is not to be confused with Spanish *pero*, as it retains its original meaning of *per hoc* and presumably also its original accent. One example still remains to be classed, viz :—

desi *nom o er* podedes enganar, 70.

which I am inclined to consider an instance of normal order, as *er* or *ar* seems to be a particle forming an inseparable compound with the verb. Compare :—

e de vós nom *ar* ei al, v. 332.

3. *Estoria Troyãa* (Appendix No. 30).—Examination of nineteen pages of the portions edited by Cornu reveal: 1st) In the *non* category, no example of normal order and nine of interpolated (*que* 7, *quando* 2); 2nd) In the *bien* category, two of type *que bien lo*, one of *si lo bien;* 3rd) In the *yo* category, two of normal (type *que yo lo*) and five of interpolated order (*que lo yo* 3, *si* 1, *quando* 1). In the category of nominal and multiverbal interpolations the number rises to twelve (*que* 5, *si* 4, *quando* 3). There are two anomalous interpolations. In both of the latter the object pronoun follows an adverb which is the initial word of the apodosis of a conditional sentence.

4. *Vida de Eufrosina, Vida de Maria Egipcia, Traité de Dévotion* (Appendix No. 31).—These texts exhibit: 1st) In

the *non* category, one example of normal order (type *quando non lo*) to eighteen of interpolated (*que lo non* 15, *si* 1, *quando* 2); 2nd) In the *bien* category, three of type *que bien lo* to six of *que lo bien;* 3rd) In the *yo* category, two of normal order, type *que yo lo,* to five of interpolated (*que* 1, *si* 2, *quando* 2). The proportion of nominal, multiverbal and anomalous interpolations is not so high as in the other western texts examined, only eight in all (nominal four, multiverbal three, anomalous one). This may be due to the fact of these pieces being in prose while the others are in metre.

In the anomalous example :—

Ay amigos, que mal *me ora* julgastes, 382, 37.

the object pronoun follows the adverb *mal.* The tendency of pronoun objects to attach themselves to adverbs in Portuguese has already been noticed.

5. *Viaggio fantastico* (Appendix No. 32).—This fragmentary text shows relations similar to the other Old Portuguese texts: *i. e.* in the *non* category, no case of normal order to four of interpolated; in the *yo* category, none of normal to one of interpolated; in the nominal and multiverbal category, four interpolations and in the anomalous, one.

The latter: *ate que as pessoas as nam queirão ouvir,* 292, 2, exhibits the inversion of pronoun and negative particle, common in modern Portuguese anywhere except at the beginning of a clause.

B.

Notes on Modern Portuguese Texts and Summary of Characteristics of Interpolation in Galician and Portuguese.

Modern Portuguese Texts (Appendix Nos. 33–35).—The three texts here examined for interpolation are based on oral

tradition in popular speech, but the usage of modern literary Portuguese in the matter of interpolation seems not to be materially different. The relations of interpolation to normal order and the distribution of categories in modern Portuguese have no essential bearing on the investigation of interpolation in Old Spanish. Consequently I shall not here analyse the material collected. It is enough to point out that interpolation still persists in Portuguese in all the old categories; and far from losing ground, as Meyer-Lübke seems to imply,[1] it appears to be gaining, especially in principal clauses.

Before passing on to the Spanish texts preserving features of western originals, it will be well briefly to summarize the main features of Portuguese interpolation. These were found to be:—

1st) In all periods marked predominance of interpolation in the *non* category, leading, in the later texts, to frequent use of the order *lo non* even when not in a dependent clause or when separated from the exordium by other words.

2nd) Predominance, but to a lesser degree than in the preceding category, of interpolation in the *bien* and *yo* categories, especially in the latter.

3rd) Extensive use of nominal and multiverbal interpolation, this in marked contrast to Castilian usage.

4th) Numerous cases of interpolation in principal clauses, in clauses beginning with *e*, *mais*, and in dependent clauses with the pronoun object following some other word than the exordium. Cases in which the object pronoun follows an adverb are especially frequent.

[1] *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XXI, s. 318: Es wäre ein interessantes Unternehmen, nachzuweisen wie viel von den alten Regeln bis heute geblieben ist, die Ausnahmen in alter Zeit zusammenzustellen und zu erklären, die allmähliche Umgestaltung zu verfolgen.

Castilian texts, as we have seen, confine interpolation almost exclusively to the first two categories above, while in Galician and Portuguese texts a majority of all the interpolations are apt to be found in the third and fourth categories above. I think, then, that we shall be justified in holding a large number of examples in a Spanish text, falling under three and four above, as an indication of an original in western speech or, at least, of a writer more familiar with western dialects than with Castilian.

C.

CASTILIAN TEXTS TRANSCRIBED OR COMPILED FROM WESTERN ORIGINALS.

1. *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* (Appendix No. 14).—Examination of the published text of this work reveals: 1st) In the *non* category, one case of normal order to eighteen interpolations (type *que lo non* 14, *si lo non* 4); 2d) in the *bien* category, eight cases of normal order (all of type *que bien lo*) and fourteen of interpolated (type *que lo bien* 4, *si lo bien* 8, *quando lo bien* 2); 3d) In the *yo* category, three of normal order, type *que yo lo*, and two of interpolated, type *que lo yo*; 4th) Thirty-four nominal and multiverbal interpolations (*que* 11, *si* 20, *quando* 3); 5th) Eleven anomalous interpolations. The noteworthy fact to be gathered from the preceding summary is that forty-five, or a majority, of all the interpolations are in the last two categories, while only thirty-four are in the three categories which normally admit interpolation in Castilian. Of the thirty-four nominal and multiverbal interpolations only three are combinations of two of the three regular types: *si le bos non* 1198, 4; 1350, 4; *si nos el non* 1298, 4. In four other cases, namely, 900, 4; 1955, 4; 2199, 4; 2339, 2; the interpolation consists of the words

muy bien. All the remaining interpolations certainly contain words with full stress. In five of the eleven cases of anomalous interpolation, the pronoun object follows the word *todos;* in four cases, an adverb (*nunca, ayna, luego, sienpre*). In two of these cases, *todos* follows the exordium of a dependent clause; the other cases are in principal clauses. It was noticed in the general characterization of Galician-Portuguese interpolation above, that attachment of the object pronoun to adverbs was frequent, both in principal and dependent clauses. The verses:—

> El fijo de Santa Maria
> *Le non* mostró atal plaser, 1588, 3–4.

both contain one syllable too many, and the construction with unstressed *le* at the beginning of the verse seems improbable either for Castilian or Galician.

2. *Amadis de Gaula* (Appendix No. 12a).—Examination of the first twenty chapters of the First Book shows: 1st) In the *non* category, thirty cases of normal order (*que* 25, *si* 2, *quando* 3) and sixty of the interpolated (*que* 42, *si* 18); 2nd) In the *bien* category, forty-three of normal order (*que* 40, *si* 2, *quando* 1) and nineteen of interpolated (*que* 16, *si* 1, *quando* 2); 3rd) In the *yo* category, twenty-nine normal (*que* 26, *si* 1, *quando* 3) and twenty-one interpolated (*que* 8, *si* 9, *quando* 4); two cases of nominal interpolation (type *si lo* —), seven of multiverbal (*que* 5, *si* 2) and four of anomalous.

Interpolation preponderates only in the *non* category. Just as in *Alfonso Onceno, si* is followed by interpolated order almost to the exclusion of normal order. Only one of the multiverbal interpolations is a combination of two simple types: *que lo yo no*, 28, 1, 24. Of the four anomalous interpolations, one is an interpolated infinitive: *que las defender pueda*, 32, 2, 32; one is in a dependent clause with the object pronoun following an adverbial phrase, *si a mi*

grado lo vos sabreis, 19, 1, 21; the remaining two are in principal clauses, one following an adverb, *agora me no pesa,* 34, 1, 14, the other the coördinating conjunction *o, ó me tú guiarás,* 39, 2, 33. The three last are interpolations of types very common in Portuguese, as we have seen.

If interpolations, and especially interpolations of western type, do not predominate in the text of *Amadis* as they do in the earlier *Alfonso Onceno,* we may attribute the fact to the castilianizing hand of Montalvo. Rather it is very remarkable that so many of them have been preserved by so late a Castilian redactor. As noted in the preceding chapter, they attracted the attention of Juan de Valdés.

Turning to *Las Sergas de Esplandián* (Appendix No. 21b), Montalvo's sequel to *Amadis,* we find only one interpolation in the first ten chapters, although there are forty-one cases of the three regular interpolation categories. The one example of interpolation is multiverbal and is probably a literary affectation, viz.: *que nos, por bien y reparo de los suyos, suele dar semejantes azotes,* 412, 2, 41.

Comparison of *Las Sergas* with *Amadis* proves beyond a doubt that the latter was compiled from an original with frequent interpolation. The number of interpolations in the nominal, multiverbal and anomalous categories, while not so large as it must have been in the Portuguese original, is still too large to have been derived from a Castilian original with interpolations of normal Castilian types.

CHAPTER V.

PRONOUN ORDER IN LATIN TEXTS.

[This chapter, dealing with Pronoun Order in the Vulgar Latin of the *Peregrinatio S. Silviae* and of certain Hispanic Latin texts found in the *España Sagrada,* it has seemed best to omit in the present publication.]

PART TWO.

THEORETICAL DISCUSSION.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The theoretical exposition of interpolation presented in the following pages is not intended as a final solution of the problem. The paucity of scientifically coördinated data on problems of word order in the Romance Languages exacts that any theoretical exposition like the following be regarded as merely tentative.

CHAPTER VI.

THEORY OF PRIMITIVE ENCLISIS OF OBJECT PRONOUNS.

I shall discuss in this chapter the theory of the position of enclitic words, advanced for ancient Indo-European languages by Wackernagel[1] and Delbrück[2] and applied to Vulgar Latin and primitive Romance dialects by Thurneysen[3] and Meyer-Lübke.[4]

[1] J. Wackernagel: Ueber ein Gesetz der idg. Wortstellung. *Idg. Forsch.* I. ss. 333–436.

[2] B. Delbrück: Vergl. Syntax der idg. Sprachen. I. Bd., s. 475; III. Bd., ss. 41, 50.

[3] R. Thurneysen: Zur Stellung des Verbums im Afrz. *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.* XVI. ss. 289–307.

[4] W. Meyer-Lübke: Zur Stellung der tonlosen Objektspronomina. *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.* XXI. ss. 313–334. *Grammatik der rom. Sprachen.* III. Bd., ss. 764 ff.

Just as the galley proofs of this article are going back to the printer, my attention has been called to the following work: Elise Richter, *Zur Entwicklung der romanischen Wortstellung aus der lateinischen* (Halle a. S.: Max

Briefly stated, and omitting details irrelevant to our discussion, the theory is as follows. The first word of a sentence or clause is strongly stressed. Unstressed words, *i. e.* particles and pronouns, tend to become enclitic to the first stressed word (exordium) of the clause, and this, because the rhythm of speech causes the weakest accent of the clause to be found immediately after the strongest. Hence the weakest words naturally gravitate to the position immediately after the initial accent of the clause, the first stressed word.

According to this theory the pronoun objects were always enclitic in Latin and generally enclitic to the initial word of the clause. The change from the enclitic position, postulated for Vulgar Latin, to the proclitic position with the verb, observed in the Romance Languages, is accounted for by the shifting of the position of the verb from the end of the clause to the second place. This shift of the verb is held to be due to analogy with *esse*, which in classical Latin preferred the second place. *Habere*, reduced to the function of an auxiliary, naturally fell into the same category with *esse*. Second-place position of the verb, made common through the increasing use of compound tenses (perfects and passives), then became generalized for all verbs. From this it resulted that the verb came to stand immediately after the pronoun object, enclitic to the first member of the clause. The close syntactical connection of verb and object then caused the pronoun to be regarded as proclitic to its verb rather than enclitic to the preceding word, and in this way grew up the inseparable connection of verb and unstressed pronoun object, general in the Romance Languages.

Niemeyer, 1903). I find no reference to interpolation in this work, but I discover that in the criticism of the Thurneysen and Meyer-Lübke theories of Romance word-order, discussed in this chapter, the author has anticipated me on a number of points ; notably in rejecting the theory of strong stress on the initial word of a sentence or clause in Latin (*op. cit.*, ss. 38 ff.), and in postulating for the Romance sentence or clause a strong end stress (ss. 83 ff.).

The interpolated order, found in Portuguese and Old Spanish, is regarded as a striking confirmation of the theory of original enclisis of the object pronoun. Meyer-Lübke has no hesitation in pronouncing it a relic of the original order, universal in Vulgar Latin. In spite of the fact that so eminent a scholar as Meyer-Lübke regards the argument for original enclisis in Vulgar Latin as conclusive and "*in die Augen springend*," I think that it can be shown to be open to several objections.

In the first place, the theory postulates a strong initial stress. Are we justified in assuming that in Classic and Vulgar Latin the first word of a sentence or clause was specially emphatic or stressed? Latin phonology has demonstrated that in prehistoric Latin the first syllable of a word bore the main stress, and the treatment of initial syllables in Romance phonology shows that after the stress in Latin was shifted towards the end of the word the initial syllable continued to preserve a secondary stress. This may be a reason why unstressed words are avoided after a pause. On the other hand it hardly seems probable that *et*, *uel*, *si*, *ne*, and other monosyllables, used freely to introduce clauses, were often stressed. There seems to be no inherent rhythmical impossibility in beginning a clause with any weak word. If certain classes of weak words are always used as enclitics, I think it is due to inherited habit rather than to rhythmical necessity.[1]

It seems to me, also, that the radical difference between the early Latin accentuation with initial stress and the

[1] The unstressed pronoun continues to be avoided after a pause until late in the Romance period, but the article, an unstressed word of later formation, knows no such rule. Prevalence of initial stress in primitive Latin might engender a kind of trochaic sentence rhythm unfavorable to initial use of weak words. In English and German, however, although the word stress is prevailingly initial, all sorts of weak words (articles, prepositions, conjunctions) are used after a pause with entire freedom.

Classic and Vulgar Latin stress, always on the penult or antepenult, ought to be considered. The later accentuation seems to be more favorable to the development of proclisis than of enclisis. When in the Romance languages two stressed words are brought into close syntactical connection, it is always the first that suffers diminution of its stress, *e. g.*, *vuèstro hermáno* but *hermàno vuéstro*, *buèn amígo* but *amìgo buéno*, *hèmos de hablár* and *hablarémos* (*hablàr hémos*). Evidence of the same tendency in Latin is probably to be seen in the formation of improper compounds such as *paterfamilias*, *iusiurandum*, etc. When today the priest pronounces the liturgical salutation as *Dòminus vobíscum*, he is probably following ancient usage, although logically he ought to say *Dóminus vobìscum*, *The Lórd be wìth you.* The Gregorian chant seems to me to be another evidence of tendency in later Latin to throw the stress on the final part of a word group, for I think that, in Latin, musical accent and expiratory stress went together. In the Gregorian tones, the level intonation of the colon with a musical cadence on the final stress group, is, I think, merely a further development of the phrase accent employed by the Romans in reading and reciting. Something very like it is observable in the cries of Spanish street venders.

I have discussed at some length the tendency of Latin and Romance to shift the stress from the first to the last part of a phrase or word group, that is, a tendency away from enclisis and towards proclisis, because to my mind it proves that there is no inherent reason why pronouns in Latin should be enclitic rather than proclitic. If pronouns in Latin continued to be prevailingly enclitic, it must have been due to inherited custom.

An extended investigation of the position of pronoun objects in Latin does not fall within the scope of this article. As far as I have been able to observe, however, it

does not seem to me that, either in Classical Latin or in texts of a Vulgar type, pronoun objects have any such unmistakable tendency to follow the first member or stressed word of a clause as to warrant the statement that this position is the regular one and that the pronouns are always enclitics. If enclisis, and especially enclisis to the first member of the clause, was a universal trait of Vulgar Latin, it is rather remarkable that neither in the oldest monuments nor in the multifarious dialects of Romance is there any occurrence of interpolation of which we have any notice, except only in the Iberian Peninsula.

From the general usage of the older forms of the Romance Languages, all of which agree in making the pronoun enclitic whenever the verb is the first member of the clause, we should expect Vulgar Latin also to avoid placing the unstressed pronoun in initial position.[1] Further than this we can hardly go.

The testimony of Portuguese and Old Spanish word order for universal enclisis in Vulgar Latin is rendered weaker by another consideration. In these idioms, the pronoun object, when separated from its verb, almost invariably follows the exordium of a dependent clause. Now these exordiums, in most cases, can hardly be other than words with weak stress.

[1] A number of early Latin hymns begin with object pronouns, *e. g.*, the compline hymn :—

Te lucis ante terminum
Rerum *Creator* poscimus,

but in these cases the pronoun is probably stressed, as there is always a vocative or accusative noun in apposition.

Avoidance of proclitic pronouns at the beginning of a clause is, we have said, a phenomenon of customary usage, not of rhythmical necessity. The definite article, proclitic in every Romance idiom except Roumanian, shows from its phonological development that it was just as much an unstressed word as the object pronoun, but there was no hesitation in using it at the beginning of clauses.

Like personal pronouns, they have no independent existence but occur only in close connection with other words. Personal pronouns are symbols standing for names easily inferred; similarly, exordiums of dependent clauses are symbols of readily inferred relations. In neither case is stress logically necessary. In Portuguese the object pronoun frequently follows *e(t)*, *mais*, copulative conjunctions which must be regarded as among the weakest of all words.[1]

The point I wish to make is that the exordium, being commonly a word with weakened stress and standing very often after a pause, logical or respiratory, partakes of the nature of a proclitic rather than an enclitic, especially in the Romance sentence with its tendency to ascending rhythm, already discussed. If it be granted, then, that the sentence rhythm of Vulgar Latin was such as to favor the formation of proclisis rather than enclisis and that in dependent clauses the verb was more strongly stressed than the exordium, it will scarcely be granted that the object pronoun was always enclitic to the exordium rather than proclitic to the verb.

Another argument for the proclitic character of the pronoun object in primitive Romance is to be found, I think, in the word order observed when the verb is accompanied by the negative *non*. The order Negative—Pronoun—Verb is well-nigh universal in the Romance Languages. The nega-

[1] Meyer-Lübke (*Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, XXI, s. 320) obviates this difficulty by assuming that *que* after a pause had a secondary stress, strong enough to attract an enclitic pronoun. *Et*, on the other hand, was, in his view, entirely unstressed, but itself was enclitic to the last word of the preceding clause. Modern Spanish *y* for older *e* offers evidence of the enclitic character of the conjunction.

As Meyer-Lübke suggests, modern *y* may have developed from *e* in such collocations as *padre e madre*, but when it is used to connect clauses there must commonly be some pause, and, in any case, the conjunction belongs to the second clause; it cannot then be enclitic. No Old Spanish poet ever thought of ending a verse with *e(t)*, but as a verse beginning it is common enough.

tive is a word tending to weakened stress, but unlike the personal pronouns is not entirely unstressed. The fact that in cases with pronoun objects, it does not stand next to the verb, in spite of its close syntactical connection with the latter and of the universal tendency of the Indo-European languages to place it in direct connection, shows that the weaker pronoun is proclitic. On the hypothesis of enclisis the pronoun would either follow the verb or seek the support of some other word stronger than the negative. If the pronoun was always enclitic in vulgar Latin, we should expect to find vestiges of one or both of the arrangements just defined in other Romance idioms than Portuguese and Old Spanish and there, not alone in dependent clauses but in others as well.[1]

Still another mode of approaching the question of original enclisis or proclisis in Vulgar Latin and primitive Romance personal pronouns is afforded by the phonetic development of the pronouns themselves in the several idioms. Here again the evidence for universal enclisis in Vulgar Latin is entirely inconclusive. The best case for enclisis in the pronoun can probably be made from the comparison of the article *il(le)* = Span. *el* with the pronoun *(il)lu(m)* = Span. *lo*. The preservation of the initial vowel in the proclitic article

[1] I infer that the negative commonly bears some stress from the fact that in languages where it has been weakened to a mere enclitic or proclitic it is usually reinforced by the addition of another word. Spanish and Italian preserve the Latin negative intact (the former merely dropping the final consonant) and express negation without the concurrence of any other word. The French, on the other hand, have to say: *je n'aime pas*, etc. In English *not* is reduced to an enclitic and then, except with auxiliary and modal verbs, strengthened by a periphrastic conjugation with *do*, the latter having the value of a negation only. *I don't see him* or *I see him not* (cf. German: *Ich sehe ihn nicht*). The second order shows, besides, that the negative has stronger stress than the pronoun object, since the weaker word will naturally stand nearer to the stressed verb, just as in the Romance order: *el padre no lo ve.*

seems to be due to the secondary stress in initial syllables, and the second vowel falls, as it commonly does in non-initial pretonic syllable. Compare *ìlle cắttus, ìllu(m) cắttu(m)* Span. *el gato* with *fòllicắre* Span. *holgar, còllocắre* Span. *colgar.* If the article did not receive secondary initial stress, as when a preposition preceded, then both vowels might be lost, as in *à(d) illu(m) mónte(m)* = Span. *al monte.* In the pronoun *illu(m)*, on the other hand, the initial vowel is treated like the penultimate vowel of a proparoxytone. Compare *amáte illu(m)* = Span. *amadlo* (Old Span. also *amaldo*), *amátis illu(m)* = Old Span. *amádes lo,* with *músculum* Span. *muslo.*

In spite of the apparent evidence for enclisis to be drawn from the preceding argument, I think that further considerations will show that *lo* is not necessarily an enclitic form. We have seen that in the older Romance idioms, and probably also in Vulgar Latin, unstressed pronouns never begin a clause. From this it follows that forms with initial secondary stress are never necessary. *Illu(m)* as pronoun object and preceding the verb must, then, always stand between words with stronger stress than its own. If it is proclitic to its verb, the position of its vowels is quite parallel to the intertonic vowels of a word with three pretonic syllables. Both of the vowels may fall, as in Old Span. *nòl véo* (*nòn illu(m) vídeo*); compare Ital. *parlare* from *pàrabo-láre;* or only one of them as in Span. *no lo veo;* compare *cabalgar* from *càballicáre.* In the latter case, the final vowel is more likely to be preserved than the initial, because of the analogy of *(il)lu(m)* derived from the enclitic position of the pronoun with verb exordium.[1]

[1] A. Mussafia, in a note entitled *Enclisi o proclisi del pronome personale qual oggetto* in *Romania,* XXVII, pp. 145–6, discussing the theory of original vulgar Latin enclisis of pronouns as maintained by Meyer-Lübke, similarly arrives at negative results, after examining the phonetic evolution of object pronouns in Old French and Provençal.

The argument might be extended to other cases, but probably enough has been said to show that no conclusive argument for general enclisis of pronoun objects in Vulgar Latin can be drawn from phonetic considerations. From all that has been advanced in the preceding paragraphs, I think it will be safe to revert to the doctrine, not questioned until the appearance of Thurneysen's article, that ever since, in Romance speech, object pronouns have been placed before the verb, they have been prevailingly proclitic to the latter.

CHAPTER VII.

ENCLISIS OF OBJECT PRONOUNS IN PORTUGUESE.

In the preceding chapter I developed certain arguments tending to show that pronoun objects preceding the verb in Vulgar Latin and Romance are generally proclitic to the verb, not enclitic to some preceding word. From that discussion I omitted reference to the Galician-Portuguese idiom because I believe that in it different conditions prevailed.

Several considerations make me think that here the unstressed object pronoun was prevailingly enclitic. The proofs which I shall advance are not, however, based on a statistical examination of a large number of Galician and Old Portuguese texts. All the matters which I treat in this chapter need further investigation.

The fact that in Old Portuguese (I shall use the term to include Old Galician also) the object pronoun is always enclitic to an initial verb cannot be adduced as an evidence of pronominal enclisis, because, as we have seen, the phenomenon is general in Romance, but the fact that Portuguese still observes this order, whereas most other Romance idioms, including Castilian, either disregard it or observe it only in

certain special categories, seems to show that a greater tendency to enclisis inheres in the Portuguese pronoun.

It is my impression also that in Old Portuguese there is a much greater tendency than in Castilian to make the pronoun object enclitic to the verb in principal clauses when the verb is not the initial word of the clause. This order is not infrequent in the older Spanish texts. After a time it is in the latter limited to cases where the verb is in a historical tense, and becoming more and more infrequent, comes at last to be a mere literary affectation. In Portuguese, on the other hand, the phenomenon is much more persistent. This sort of enclisis is especially frequent in the first books of *Amadis de Gaula* and is, I think, still another proof of their Portuguese origin.

One main objection to the enclitic theory lies in the fact that in Portuguese, as in other Romance idioms, the unstressed pronoun object in principal negative clauses usually stands between the negative particle and the verb. On the theory of enclisis and granting that the negative adverb is a word with weakened stress, we should expect the pronoun either to be enclitic to the verb or else enclitic to the subject or other preceding stressed word, the negative being interpolated. In point of fact interpolations of *não* in principal clauses are found in all periods of Portuguese but rather more commonly in modern than in ancient texts. That this is not the prevailing order may be due to the analogy of negative sentences with unexpressed subject, especially negative imperative sentences, e. g. *Não me disse; não me digas*. Why in these phrases the pronoun, if naturally enclitic, did not attach itself to the verb still needs to be explained.

It was pointed out in the preceding chapter that the confinement of interpolation to dependent clauses, far from being a proof of original enclisis, as might be inferred from Meyer-

Lübke's arguments, is rather an objection to that theory. If then, we are to establish a theory of pronominal enclisis for Portuguese, it will be necessary to discover whether there is any evidence of a freer use of interpolation in earlier stages of the language and what causes operated to limit it almost exclusively to dependent clauses in the period covered by the texts.

Object pronouns are not enclitic to the verb in dependent clauses not beginning with a verb either in Portuguese or in Castilian.[1] Enclisis to the verb being forbidden, it follows that if a tendency to enclisis is present, the pronoun object must seek the next strongest word. It happens, however, that in perhaps a majority of dependent clauses containing an object pronoun, there is no other word except the exordium. Another frequent case is when the only other word is the negative particle or a subject pronoun, both words with comparatively weak stress, and in this case, also, the enclitic naturally gravitates to the exordium. The extreme frequency of the junction of exordium and object pronoun, brought about in the ways just described, tends to establish the same order in the other dependent clauses, although in

[1] I have not been able to discover any satisfactory explanation of this restriction. There seems to be a tendency in Old Portuguese and in Old Spanish, especially in the former, to put the verb at the end of dependent clauses, and I do not believe that this tendency is merely the result of an affectation of Latin constructions. The Hispanic Latin texts, however, as well as some other Vulgar Latin documents, seem rather generally not to remove the verb to the end of a dependent clause. Hence the end position of the verb seems rather an innovation than an inheritance of Latin order, and it cannot be argued that avoidance in the same Hispanic texts of enclisis to the verb is a result of end position. I can understand the avoidance of enclisis to the verb in dependent clauses only on the supposition of universal proclitic position in primitive Romance except in the case of initial verb. Pronouns enclitic to non-initial verb in principal clauses, common in Old Spanish and Old Portuguese, are then to be considered as extensions of the order observed with initial verb, not relics of a primitive enclisis.

these the exordium does not come next to the verb in point of stress. This is particularly the case with conditional clauses containing adverbs. It is noticeable, however, that in this category interpolation never became general, and we may, perhaps, assume that in some former period of the language the object pronoun was usually attached to the adverb rather than to the weaker exordium. Especially noteworthy in this regard are the cases of interpolation, rather numerous in Old Portuguese texts, in which the pronoun object follows, not the exordium, but an adverb or other stressed word standing in the first part of the dependent clause. These, I think, offer strong evidence of enclisis.

Nominal interpolations, on the other hand, are unfavorable to the theory of enclisis. The subject, noun or demonstrative, must logically have greater stress than the exordium, and consequently ought to be preferred by enclitics. If, in this category also, the pronoun object tends to attach itself to the exordium, then it is by analogy with the frequent junction of exordium and pronoun in other forms of dependent clause discussed above. To discover whether nominal interpolation predominates in Old Portuguese and whether there has been any change in this regard in Modern Portuguese would require a special investigation not falling within the limits of the present one.

Whether the arguments contained in the preceding paragraphs have made the theory of enclisis of the object pronoun in Portuguese seem probable, I do not know. To my mind, however, this theory explains all the facts better than any other. If a tendency to enclisis in the Portuguese pronoun be granted, the next question to be raised will be whether this tendency is one inherited from Lusitanian Latin or one developed at a later period. This also is not a question to be decided without special investigation, but I incline to the second hypothesis. The proclitic position of the pronoun in

a great many constructions, especially the order in negation (*não me disse*), and the proclitic definite article point to a general agreement with other Romance dialects during the earlier period. The change from procliticism to encliticism I regard as due to the growth of a peculiar word stress, differentiating Galician and Portuguese from the other dialects of the Iberian Peninsula. This probably coincided with the remarkable phonetic changes which took place before the appearance of vernacular writing. These changes, weakening and fall of medial *l* and *n*, weakening and interchange of intertonic vowels, and apocopation of vowel of unstressed words, when all taken together, predicate the development of expiratory word stress. This sort of stress, we know, is still characteristic of Portuguese at the present time and stands in marked contrast to the combination of moderate stress and strong pitch accent which characterizes the word and sentence emphasis of modern Spanish.

It remains to show what connection there is between enclisis and proclisis, on the one hand, and expiratory stress and tonal accent, on the other. Tonal accent tends always to fall near the close of a breath group, in Greek, Latin, and Romance on one of the three final syllables. If the accent is, for any reason, emphasized, the final syllable following the accent is prolonged. This phenomenon is observable in all forms of chanting, in street cries, and in Spanish in anything called or cried out. As explained in the preceding chapter, stress and accent of this sort favor the development of proclisis and also the development of sentence accent at the expense of word accent. With the development of expiratory stress the breath is less economized. Each longer word generally becomes the center of a distinct stress group. The strong expiration accompanying each stressed syllable is made at the expense of the syllables that precede and follow in each stress group, but especially of those that follow, since

before reaching them most of the breath impulse has already been spent. From what has been said, it follows that the weakest positions in a sentence composed of stress groups are those following each stress. The unstressed pronoun objects as among the very weakest of all words will naturally be relegated to these positions; in other words, they will become enclitics.[1]

CHAPTER VIII.

THEORY OF INTERPOLATION IN CASTILIAN.

The theory of enclisis, developed in the preceding chapter as explaining in part the phenomenon of interpolation in Galician-Portuguese, is, I think, quite inapplicable to the same phenomenon in Castilian. On this account I have throughout the present investigation everywhere carefully abstained from employing the words *enclisis* or *enclitic* in connection with interpolated order in Castilian texts.

I believe that in all Castilian dialects the conditions of word stress, word intonation and sentence accent were those normal in Romance idioms and all tending, as explained in Chapter VI, to the development of proclisis. I shall try to show, also, that these normal conditions persisted in Old

[1] Gonçalves-Vianna, to whom we owe nearly all that has yet been done in the field of Portuguese phonetics, considers the unstressed pronoun as always enclitic in modern Portuguese pronunciation. The following note, which I owe to the kindness of Professor Ford, is taken from:—

R. Gonçalves Vianna, *Portugais: Phonétique et Phonologie* (Skizzen lebender Sprachen, hrsg. v. W. Vietor, II. Bd.), Leipzig, 1903.

Page 91: "Tous les pronoms régimes dont nous venons de parler sont atones; après le verbe ils sont enclitiques; devant le verbe ils le sont également, par rapport au mot qui les précède immédiatement. Jamais ils ne sont proclitiques, et c'est pour cela qu'ils ne sauraient commencer une phrase."

Spanish as they still persist in the modern idiom, and that pronouns in interpolated constructions lose little or nothing of their proclitic character. My contention, then, is that the problem of interpolation in Old Spanish resolves itself mainly into one of relative order among words of weak stress.

The main proof of the proclitic character in Old Spanish of the object pronoun preceding its verb, whether immediately or not, will be drawn from considerations based on word order. Apart from these, however, the morphology of the Spanish pronouns gives, I think, some indication of their prevailingly proclitic character. In the oldest texts we meet a number of apocopated forms (*l*, *s*, and more rarely *m*, *t*, for *le* (*lo?*), *se*, *me*, *te*). In enclitic position after a vowel the *-e* of these pronouns falls in the same way that *-e* falls in most other words after a single consonant. These shortened forms, primarily enclitics to the verb, are used also in certain proclitic positions. It is noteworthy, however, that they do not persist but are, by the end of the XIV century, superseded in all positions by the anapocopated forms normal for proclisis. The development of *os* for *vos* at a comparatively late date argues rather for the prevalence of enclisis. The later form may be due to the fact that *vos* was the most general *tratamiento* during the whole of the Old Spanish period and in consequence enclitic *-vos* (*os*) in imperatives and expressions like *digo vos* would be especially frequent.

The strongest proof of the proclitic character of the Old Spanish object pronoun in interpolation lies, I think, in the character of the words with which it commonly occurs. Castilian interpolations, as we have seen, are almost entirely confined to the three categories of negative particle *non*, adverbs, and subject pronouns. Now these are all words tending to weak stress in the sentence[1] and consequently

[1] The semi-weak character of *non* in sentence stress has already been discussed in Chapter VI. It may be objected that the pronoun subjects are

may stand between the pronoun object and verb without throwing the former into a different stress group, *i. e.*, the pronoun ceases to be proclitic to the simple verb and becomes proclitic to the stress group Interpolation—Verb.

We have seen that in Portuguese interpolation is mainly limited to cases where the pronoun object follows the exordium of a dependent clause and that in Castilian it is almost exclusively so limited. The exordium of a dependent clause, as has been explained, is a relational word, commonly with weak stress. In Spanish the conjunction *porque* by the side of the interrogative *¿por qué?* is an instance of this weakening. Leonese *se* for *si* also exhibits the same thing. Interpolation, it will have been observed, is much more common with the weakest exordiums, *que, si*, than with the longer ones which must necessarily carry more stress, e. g. in the text of the *Cid*, with a majority for interpolation in

full stressed words, as they are commonly omitted when they would not logically receive emphasis. I think that they, too, tended to weak stress from the very first. *Ego* should give in Castilian **yego;* if *yo* comes from a vulgar Latin **eo*, then we are obliged to assume weakening at a very early period. On the supposition of full stress we should expect Old Spanish *elle*, supported by the analogy of the demonstratives *ese, este, aqueste*, to prevail, but *el* is much more common even in the oldest texts, and finally supplants the disyllabic form altogether. Another evidence of the progressive weakening of the subject pronouns is afforded by the necessity for the reinvigoration of *nos* and *vos* in modern Spanish through the compounds *nosotros* (*-as*) and *vosotros* (*-as*). *Vos* was especially liable to weakening when it became general as a *tratamiento*.

With the adverbs, also, there are not wanting evidences of a tendency to weak stress. *Y* was a word with weak stress, and the proof of it is seen in that it has been driven out of use by stronger words. The monosyllabic adverbs, *bien, mal*, phonetically correct for stressed *bene, male*, would on account of their monosyllabic form have to give up a part of their stress to a following verb, *i. e.*, *bién háce* would have to be spoken *bièn háce* with only a secondary stress on the adverb. Apart from phonetic considerations, many adverbs are logically unemphatic. *Así*, for example, is merely relational like the exordiums discussed in Chapter VI. Still another evidence of the tendency of adverbs to weak stress is furnished by the formation of compounds like *maltratar, menospreciar*, etc.

the *yo* category with exordiums *que, si,* there are fourteen cases of the type *quando yo lo* and not a single interpolation. If in some later manuscripts interpolation with exordiums of type *quando* is nearly as dominant as that with exordiums of types *que, si,* this is probably owing to the analogical influence of the latter types.

If the arguments of the foregoing paragraphs are sound, it follows that, in Castilian, interpolation is confined to the three categories *non, bien, yo,* in dependent clauses with the pronoun object following the exordium, precisely because the pronouns have not lost their proclitic character and because these syntactical categories, and no others, afford a succession of words having weak stress both before and after the pronoun object, thus permitting the latter to remain in proclitic position, no longer directly proclitic to the verb, it is true, but proclitic to the stress group dominated by the stressed syllable of the verb. Nominal and multiverbal interpolations, on the other hand, are shunned because they either interpose a strong stress between the object pronoun and its verb or else remove the pronoun too far from the verb for the former to be felt as a proclitic. It will have been noticed, besides, that many of the cases classed as multiverbal are combinations of the regular categories, that is, two weak words are interposed between pronoun object and verb, and in these cases, also, the pronoun may still be accounted a proclitic.

Similar reasoning applies to two other sorts of interpolation, not altogether common in Galician and Portuguese, but so extremely rare in Castilian that I class them as anomalous. The first is when interpolation occurs in a dependent clause but the object pronoun does not immediately follow the exordium; the second is when interpolation occurs in a principal clause. In both cases interpolation is avoided in Castilian because the sentence member preceding the pronoun

object is likely to have strong stress, and because with interpolated order the object would appear enclitic to it rather than proclitic to the verb not immediately following. In Galician-Portuguese we saw that examples of both of these classes are relatively numerous, and if they are not prevalent types, it is probably due to the disturbing influence of analogy.

There is, however, one class of principal clause to which the reasons adduced above do not apply. I refer to coördinate sentences introduced by *et, mas, pero.* In these clauses the conditions of stress are the same as in dependent clauses introduced by a weak exordium. If interpolation is not practised in coördinate clauses it is, I think, because there are lacking here the stereotyped word orders peculiar to dependent clauses. One may say in Old Spanish *e vió lo* or *e lo vió,* but one can say only *que lo vió.* This subject was touched upon in the preceding chapter, but will be discussed more in detail here.

The vast majority of dependent clauses begin with *que,* conjunction or relative. Next in frequency to *que* but far behind it comes *si.* Then follow the other exordiums. In unelaborated speech a majority of dependent clauses consist of only three members, subject, object, and verb. The subject may be either a noun, a relative pronoun (usually *que*), or a personal pronoun (usually omitted as sufficiently indicated by the ending of the verb). In the last two cases, and they are perhaps in a majority, if the object is a personal pronoun, since enclisis to the verb is not admitted in dependent clauses, the pronoun necessarily stands next to the exordium. In this way there develops a strong feeling for the order *Exordium-Pronoun,* especially in the case of the two most frequent exordiums *que, si.*[1] Most of the diplo-

[1] Examination of the text of Juan Ruiz : *Buen Amor* reveals two hundred and sixty-two cases of *que* followed immediately by object pronoun and verb, while there are only sixty-five cases (excluding the categories *que non*

matic editions, such as those of Don Juan Manuel and the Archpriest of Hita, write with considerable regularity the exordium *que* or *si* and the following pronoun object as one word, *e. g. quelo, quela, silo,* etc. Meyer-Lübke considers this an evidence of enclisis. It is rather an evidence of the feeling of connection between exordium and pronoun, and may be compared with the almost constant practice of writing two pronoun objects as one word, *gelo, gela, voslo,* etc.

Whether or not the analogy of this frequent word order could originate cases of interpolation in Castilian is doubtful, but that it could assist in extending and maintaining the phenomenon is hardly so. It is, moreover, the only way in which I can explain the confinement of interpolation to dependent clauses.

Still other analogies may have helped the progress of interpolation in Castilian. The negative particle is never separated from its verb except by object pronouns. Thus the universality of the order, *fulano non-dize,* working together with the frequency of *que-lo dize,* doubtless assisted the change of *que non lo dize* to *que-lo non-dize.* Still another possibility of analogic influence may be found in the pronouns *nos* and *vos.* The accented forms of these pronouns were originally used without the objective *á,* and this use is still frequent in Old Portuguese. Beside the construction *que non-vos-vió* stood the construction *que (a) vos non vió,* and the similarity of form between the stressed and unstressed forms of *vos* would facilitate the change of *que non-vos-vió* to the interpolated order *que-vos-non-vió.*

lo, etc.), in which the pronoun and verb are separated from the exordium by other words. Add to the latter one hundred and sixteen cases (seventy-nine normal and thirty-seven interpolated), in the categories *que non lo* (*lo non*), *que bien lo* (*lo bien*), *que yo lo* (*lo yo*), and we have in all one hundred and eighty-one cases in which there is, or without interpolation would have been, separation of exordium and object pronoun, against the two hundred and sixty-two cases of normal connection as stated above.

In a lesser degree the same sort of influence may have been at work in the adverb categories. Before the definite formation of the compounds, *bienquerer*, *maltratar*, *menospreciar*, *etc.*, there must have been a period in which linguistic usage hesitated between separable adverb and inseparable prefix. While the compound verbs acquired a special shade of meaning, the simple verbs continued to be used with the same adverbs and consequently, whenever *que le malquiere* was used in a sense not very different from that of *que mal le quiere*, it had the appearance of an interpolation, and the frequency of *que-le* tended to generalize the order *que le mal quiere* and extend it to other adverbs.

In the case of interpolated pronoun subjects, also, the same sort of analogy may have been at work. While *nos* and *vos* could still be used as stressed pronouns without the objective *á*, it was possible to say either *que vós yò digo* or *quo yò vós digo*. The former order, as removing the more emphatic word farther from the verb, would usually be preferred, unless the subject pronoun received special emphasis. In the latter case the object pronoun would fall nearly to the level of an ordinary proclitic, as both pronouns cannot have full stress at the same time, *i. e.*, *que yó vòs digo*. The analogy of the order *que* (*a*) *vós yò digo* would facilitate the extension of the interpolated order *que vos-yo-digo*.

It is my belief that interpolation is a phenomenon arising first in western dialects and extending itself to the dialects of Old Castile, in which it undergoes considerable modification and restriction. It does not seem probable that it ever reached the popular dialects of New Castile[1] and Aragon, and to this fact I attribute its final fall in Castilian.

There are not wanting analogical forces which may have helped to restore the normal order to absolute dominion.

[1] Cf. discussion of text of Juan Ruiz, chap. II, above.

Chief among these I reckon the change of position of the verb in dependent clauses. The verb, which in early Castilian tends to stand at the end of a dependent clause, is in the course of the XIV and XV centuries pretty generally transferred to the second place, *i. e.*, it follows the exordium. The causes of this change of word order ought to be made the subject of a special investigation. I shall not attempt to discuss them here, but shall content myself with pointing out how this change of word order greatly reduces the number of occasions for interpolation. In the later word order *non* still continues to stand before the verb, but adverbs and pronoun subjects follow more often than they precede. It resulted from the above that *non* remained the only frequent interpolation category and, antagonized by the normal order constant in principal clauses, could not stand alone.

Concluding Note.

In concluding, I wish to express my sense of deep obligation to Professor E. S. Sheldon, and to Professor C. H. Grandgent, editor-in-chief of this publication. To both of these gentlemen I am indebted for much helpful criticism and many valuable suggestions. To Professor Sheldon belongs the credit of having first suggested the investigation.

Winthrop Holt Chenery.

APPENDIX.

Note.—The arrangement of the illustrative material, contained in this *Appendix*, is explained in the notes prefixed to *Part One.* The numbering of the texts is the same as that followed in the *List of Texts.* The page number of the beginning of each article is indicated in the *Table of Contents.*

1.

Poema del Cid.

1. a) **Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** Que si non la quebrantas por fuerca, *que non gela* abriese nadi, v. 34; De noche lo lieuen, *que non lo* vean christianos, 93; Rachel *et* Vidas, amos me dat las manos, *Que non me* descubrades a moros nin a christianos, 107; Con grand iura meted y las fes amos, *Que non las* catedes en todo aqueste año, 121; Por aduzir las archas *et* meter las en uuestro saluo, *Que non lo* sepan moros nin christianos, 145; Por tal lo faze myo Çid *que no io* (l. lo) ventasse nadi, 433; Todo gelo dize, *que nol* en cubre (l. encubre) nada, 922; Sonrrisos el caboso, *que non lo* pudo en durar, 946; A mi dedes C. caualleros, *que non uos* pido mas, 1129; Mas le vienen a myo Çid, sabet, *que nos le* van, 1207; Que presa es Valençia, *que non gela* enparan, 1223; Con el Mynayna Albarffanez *que nos le* parte de so braço, 1244; Las puertas del alcaçar *que non se* abriessen de dia nin de noch, 2002; Myo Çid selos gañara, *que non gelos* dieran en don, 2011; Mas bien sabet verdad *que non lo* leuante yo, 2199; De *que non me* fallaren los yfantes de Carrion, 2793; Vna cofia sobre los pelos dun escarin de pro, Con oro es obrada, fecha por Razon, *Que non le* contalassen los pelos al buen Çid Canpeador, 3096; En prestan les delo ageno, *que non les* cumple lo suyo, 3248; El Rey alos de myo Çid de noche los en bio, *Que noles* diessen salto nin ouiessen pauor, 3699. 2) **Si:** Que *si non la* quebrantas por fuerca, que non gela abriese nadi, 34; Des fechos nos ha el Çid, sabet, *si no nos* val, 1433; *Si nolo* dexas por myo Çid el de Biuar, Tal cosa uos faria que por el mundo sonas, 2677. 3) **Quando, etc.** Asconden se de myo Çid, *ca nol* osan dezir nada, 30; Poso en la glera *quando nol* coge nadi en casa, 59; Vna des leatança *ca non la* fizo alguandre, 1081; Vos casades mis fijas, *ca non gelas* do yo, 2110; Ellos lo temen, *ca non lo* piesso yo, 2501; El caso mis fijas, *ca non gelas* di yo, 2908; *Ca non me* priso aella fijo de mugier nada, 3285.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non.** 1) **Que:** Non viene ala pueent, ca por el agua apassado, *Que gelo non* ventanssen de Burgos oñe nado, 151; Esto mando myo Çid, Minaya lo ouo consseiado: Que ningun oñe delos sos *ques le non* spidies, onol besas la man[o], 1252. 2) **Si:** No example. 3)

Quando: *Quando las non* queriedes, ya canes traydores, ¿Por que las sacauades de Valençia sus honores? 3263.

2. **a) Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** Por miedo del Rey Alfonsso, *que assi lo* auien parado, 33 ; Pues *que aqui uos* veo, prendet de mi ospedado, 247 ; El Çid *que bien nos* quiera nada non perdera, 1389 ; Mager *que mal le* queramos, non gelo podremos fer, 1524 ; Por *que assi las* en bio dond ellas son pagadas, 1812 ; Vos con ellos sed, *que assi uos lo* mando yo, 2179 ; Dios, *que bien los* siruio atodo so sabor, 2650 ; Enemigo de myo Çid, *que siemprel* busco mal, 2998 ; Mas en nuestro iuuizio assi lo mandamos nos, *Que aqui lo* entergedes dentro en la cort, 3227 ; . . . si non tenedes dineros, echad [A]la vnos peños, *que bien vos lo* dararan sobrelos, 3735. 2) **Si:** Que *si antes las* catassen que fuessen periurados, 164 ; *Si bien las* seruides, yo uos Rendre buen galardon, 2582. 3) **Quando, etc.** *Ca assil* dieran la fe *et* gelo auien iurado, 163 ; Legolas al coraçon, *ca mucho las* queria, 276 ; Salios le de sol espada, *ca muchol* andido el cauallo, 1726 ; Gradid melo, mis fijas, *ca bien uos* he casadas, 2189.

b) Que, si, quando lo bien. 1) **Que:** Por esso uos la do *que la bien* curiedes uos, 3196. 2) 3) **Si, Quando, etc.** No examples.

3. **a) Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** Fata *que yo me* page sobre mio buen cauallo, 498 ; Non de ranche ninguno fata *que yo lo* mande, 703 ; Mas vale *que nos los* vezcamos, que ellos coian el [p]an, 1691 ; Bien melo creades, *que el uos* casa, ca non yo, 2204. 2) **Si:** Sabet bien que *si ellos le* viessen, non escapara de muert, 2774. 3) **Quando, etc.** Non lo conpra, *ca el selo* auie consigo, 67 ; *Do yo uos* en bias (l. enbias) bien abria tal esperança, 490 ; Mas *quando el melo* busca, yr gelo he yo demandar, 966 ; Tornauas a Muruiedro, *ca el se la* a ganada, 1196 ; Saldrien del monesterio *do elle las* dexo, 1353 ; *Quando uos los* fueredes ferir, entrare yo del otra part, 1696 ; Mas *pues bos lo* queredes, en tremos en la Razon, 1893 ; Dad manero a qui las de, *quando uos las* tomades, 2133 ; Assi *comõ yo las* prendo daquent, comõ si fosse delant, 2137 ; *Quando uos nos* casaredes bien seremos Ricas, 2195 : *Quando el lo* oyo pesol de coraçon, 2815 ; Al puno bien estan, *ca el selo* mando, 3089 ; *Ca uos las* casastes, Rey, sabredes que fer oy, 3150 ; *Quando ellos los* an apechar, non gelos quiero yo, 3235.

b) Que, si, quando lo yo. 1) **Que:** Çid, beso uuestra mano, endon *que la yo* aya, 179 ; En esta heredad *que uos yo* he ganada, 1607 ; Fijas del Çid, por *que las vos* dexastes, 3368. 2) **Si:** *Si les yo* visquier, seran duenas Ricas, 825. 3) **Quando, etc.** No example.

Anomalous example. *Qui lo* fer non quisiesse, o no yr a mi cort, Quite myo Reino, cadel non he sabor, 2993.

2.

VIDA DE SANTA MARIA EGIPCIACA.

1. **a) Que (si, cuando) non lo:**

Que non es pecado tan grande
Ni tan orrible

Que non le faga Dios,
Non le faga perdon, v. 32.
Que non sse deuien marauillar
De algun omne ssil veyen pecar 54.
Que non se pueden de ella toller, 175.
Non pudo estar *que non se* hiria, 317.
Que non lo sierua en los mios dias, 508.
Mas tanto lo tenie él por preçiado
Que non lo darie por vn cauallo, 911.
Con éll començó de ffablar,
Que non sse le quiso mas çelar, 981.
Ca ella non sabie ssu nombre
Si non gelo dixiesse algun homne, 993.
En tal guisa será contada
Que non sse çelará hi nada, 1139.

b) **Que lo non:**
Sus parientes quando la veyan
Por poco *que se non* murien, v. 103.

2. **Que (si, cuando) lo bien:**
E dexaré aquesta vida
Que mucho la e mantenida, 510.
Bien puedes ffiar por el tu Senyor
Que siempre lo seruiste a onor, 1045.
Quando lo aurás soterrado
Ruega por ell *que asi te* es acomendado, 1367.

b) **Que bien lo.** No example.

3. a) **Que (si, cuando) yo lo:**
Ffaz non perdon *que tu lo* tienes, 1075.
Quando ella lo vió asi andar
Luego comiença de llamar, 1112.

b) **Que lo yo.** No example.

3.

LIBRO DE APOLONIO.
Stzs. 1–328.

1. a) **Que non lo; si non lo; quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** Stz. 15, v. 4; 20, 3; 35, 1; 236, 3; 290, 4; 314, 4. 2) **Si:** 289, 4. 3) **Quando, etc.:** 13, 4; 95, 4; 158, 4.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non.** No examples.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** 18, 3; 246, 2; 302, 4. 2) **Si:** 319, 3. 3) **Quando, etc.:** 83, 1; 298, 3.

b) **Que, si quando lo bien.** No examples.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** 53, 4. 2) **Si:** 1, 2; 82, 1; 247, 1; 303, 4. 3) **Quando, etc.:** 206, 2; 230, 3; 232, 3; 237, 1; 238, 4.

b) Que, si, quando lo yo. No examples.

4. **Que lo — —:** Fija, si vos queredes buscarme grant plaçer, Que *vos yo* siempre aya mucho que gradeçer, 166, 2.

6. Infinitive. **Por bien lo:** Diome enel mar salto *por mas me* desmentir, 118, 3.

b) Por lo bien, etc. No example.

4.

GONZALO DE BERCEO.

1. **a)** Type **que no lo.**

SILOS. Bien sabia al diablo tenerle la frontera, Que *non lo* engannasse por ninguna manera, stz. 48, v. 4. Cuntió gran negligençia a los que lo sopieron El logar do estido, que *non lo* escribieron, 71, 2. O creo por ventura, que *non lo* entendieron, 71, 3. Por Dios que *non me* quieras tan mucho segudar, 176, 1. Lo que deçir vos quiero, que *non lo* retrayades, 228, 4. Cata *que non las* pierdas, 238, 3. Sabet *que nol* ovieron dos veçes a clamar, 726, 2.

MILLAN. Tienie bien sue memoria, Que *non lo* engannasse la vida transitoria, stz. 123, v. 4. Connoçerme deviedes tu e tu ermandat, Que *non me* levantassedes crimen de falsedat, 267, 4. Que ante los vengaron que *non los* reçibieron, 446, 4.

MISSA. Por ent a los disçipulos dió signo speçial Que *non se* acostassen a es hospital, 50, 4.

LAURENCIO. Que *non me* desempares, por Dios e caridat, 64, 2.

LOORES. Menester nos a, sennores, su merçed recadar, Que *non nos* desconoscan a la hora de entrar, 167, 4.

MILAGROS. Esto bien lo creades: Que avie de noblezas tantas diversidades, Que *non las* contarien priores nin abbades, 10, 4. Madre eres de fijo alcalde derechero, Que *nol* plaçe la fuerza nin es end plaçentero, 90, 4. Dilis que *non lo* dexen y otro trentanario, 107, 3. Fueron mal rependidos que *non lo* degollaron, 153, 3. Dios el nuestro sennor alcalde derechero, Al que *non se* encubre bodega nin çellero, 244, 2. Embiaron al bispo por su carta deçir, Que *non las* visitaba, 511, 4. Por poco la gent loca que *non lo* adoraba, 724, 4. Veredes el diablo que trae mala manna, Los que non *se le* guardan, 839, 4.

ORIA. Sennor, dixo, e padre, peroque *non te* veo, 103, 1.

b) Type **que lo no.**

MISSA. Los *que lo non* entienden bien deben preguntar, 48, 1.

LAURENCIO. Los *que lo non* fiçieren quierelos martiriar, 29, 4.

LOORES. Sennor merçé te pido de que tanto feçiste, Que *me non* aborrescas, 98, 4.

Doblaron su peccado los que *la non* creyeron, 128, 4.

Mandó de la çiudat que *se non* derramassen, 131, 3.

MILAGROS. Ubert, Ubert, por qué *me non* recudes? 293, 2.

Pusolo en porfazo porque *lo non* pagaba, 685, 2.

2. a) Type **si no lo.**

SILOS. Si *non los* amparare el padron del logar, 155, 3. Si *non vos lo* tollieron nuestros graves pecados, 283, 1. Ca si *non li* valiesse, a poca de sazon Serie çiego, 706, 3. Dixo : si *non me* saca Dios el nuestro sennor Desti qui me tiene non me fiçier amor, 712, 2.

MILLAN. Si *non se* meiorasse que serie destruida, 281, 3.

MISSA. Ca pesarie a Çesar si *non lo* acabassen, 243, 4.

LAURENCIO. Si *non me* lievas, padre, en tu soçiedat, 64, 3.

MILAGROS. Del mal si *non te* guardas, caerás en peor, 261, 4. Madre, si *non nos* vales, de ti non nos partremos, 393, 1. Todo es recabdado si *non te* repindieres, 728, 4.

ORIA. Si non *te lo* quitare conseio del pecado, El que hizo a Eva comer el mal bocado, 96, 3.

b) Type **si lo no.**

SILOS. So en fiero afruento con tal enfermedat, Si *me non* acorriere la tu grant piadat, 411, 4.

MILLAN. Dissolis por conçeio una fuert profeçia : Que *sis non* quisiessen quitar da la follia, Serien todos destructos, 283, 2.

Sennor, si *nos non* sanas, daqui nunqua iztremos, 327, 1.

Si *los non* escuchasen non fiçieran locura, 408, 4.

LOORES. Si *nos non* vales, madre, podemosnos perder, 223, 2.

3. a) Type **quando no lo.**

SILOS. Quando *non lo* leyesse, deçir non lo querria, 73, 3.

MISSA. Quando *non lo* quisieron los diestros reçebir, 51, 1.

LOORES. Quando *non me* atrevo a essas, digome destas menores 85, 2.

b) Type **quando lo no.**

MILLAN. Por poco *se non* riso, tant ovo grant sabor, 222, 4.

4. a) Type **que bien lo.**

SILOS. Rey, dixo, mal façes, que *tanto me* denuestas, 148, 1. Desende adelante, porque *bien la* partieron, Dióles Dios buen conseio, 461, 1. Terneme por pagado, que *bien me* soldades, 760, 3. En caridat vos ruego, que *luego los* digades, 760, 4.

MILLAN. Deste seet seguros que *bien vos* fallaredes, 480, 3.

LOORES. Porque la virtut podemos entender, Que *bien se* podia dellos sin arma defender, 59, 3.

MILAGROS. Benedicta sea ella que *bien gelo* cumplió, 130, 2. Lo que alli methieremos que *bien lo* empleamos, 498, 4. Tanto era grant cosa que *abes lo* creya, 837, 4.

ORIA. Fizonos esta graçia porque *bien lo* quisiemos, 68, 4.

b) Type **que lo bien.** No examples.

5. a) Type **si bien lo.**

MILLAN. Si *bien lo* entendiessedes, sodes bien escapados, 276, 1. Deste seet seguros que bien vos fallaredes, Si *bien lis* enviaredes esto que lis devedes, 480, 4.

MILAGROS. Los que tuerto li tienen o que la desirvieron, Della merçed ganaron, si *bien gela* pidieron, 376, 2.

ORIA. Madre, si *bien me* quieres, e pro me quieres buscar, Manda llamar los clerigos, 193, 1.

b) Type **si lo bien.** No examples.

6. **a)** Type **quando bien lo.**

MILAGROS. Quando *bien la* catares, tuia es mas que mia, 669, 3.

ORIA. Serás fuerte embargada de enfermedat mortal, *Qual nunca la* oviste, terrasla bien por tal, 135, 4.

b) Type **quando lo bien.** No examples.

7. **a)** Type **que yo lo.**

SILOS. Porque viene aquesto, que *vos me lo* digades, 239, 2. Esto que *yo vos* digo todo lo probaredes, 448, 4. Empezó muy afirmes al Criador rogar, Que *elli les* dennasse conseio embiar, 450, 3. En graçia vos lo pido, que por Dios lo fagades, De sendos pater nostres, que *vos me* acorrades, 760, 2.

MISSA. En el su amor sancto que *él la* ençienda, 102, 3. Ruega a Dios por él e por sus encomendados, Que *él los* absuelva de todos los pecados, 269, 2.

LOORES. Tu ante estás presta que *nos te* demandemos, 217, 3.

MILAGROS. Verdat es, non mentira, esto que *io vos* digo, 276, 2. Querien a Dios rogar, Que *elli lis* mostrase qual debiessen alzar, 307, 4. Buscó al omne bono que *ella li* mandara, 491, 2. Duenna, disso el bispo, porque *vos lo* neguedes, Non seredes creida, 550, 3. O que omne es esti que *vos me* presentades? 736, 3.

ORIA. Espertó ella luego que *ellas la* dexaron, 108, 4.

b) Type **que lo yo.**

MISSA. Merçet pido a todos por la ley que tenedes De sendos pater nostres que *me vos* ayudedes, 297, 3.

MILAGROS. Lo que *lis él* diçia façieielo probar, 725, 3.

8. **a)** Type **si yo lo.**

SILOS. Todo es tu provecho, si *tu lo* entendiesses, 431, 1.

MILLAN. Bien me ten por babieca si *yo te lo* consiento, 116, 4.

MISSA. Si *vos me* esperassedes por vuestro bien seer, Oyriedes razones que vos faran plaçer, 107, 3.

MILAGROS. Si *vos me* escuchasedes por vuestro consiment, Querriavos contar un buen aveniment, 1, 2. Mas si *tu me* quissiesses del tuio acreer, Bien te lo cuidaba a un plazo render, 640, 3. Si *él te* enfiare, io por el su amor Acreerté lo mio sin otro fiador, 644, 1. Mas si *tu me* fallieres, a ellos reptaré, 652, 3. Mas si *tu me* falleçes non me tengo a nada, 818, 2.

b) Type **si lo yo.** No examples.

9. **a)** Type **quando yo lo.**

SILOS. Commo *él lo* asmaba, todo assi avino, 162, 1.

b) Type **quando lo yo.** No example.

10. **Anomalous example.**

MILLAN. Si *me lo la tu graçia* quisiesse condonar, Sennor, aqui querria de mi grado finar, 60, 3.

11. **Infinitive.**

a) Type **por no lo, etc.**

MILLAN. Metiose por los montes por *mas se* esconder, 47, 3. Cantó la sancta missa por *salut li* ganar 179, 3. Yban al omne bueno por *con él se* morar, 253, 2.

MISSA. El caliz a la diestra por *meyor le* membrar, 66, 3.

LOORES. Bien te curieste, madre, de *non lo* façer, 20, 4.

b) Type **por lo no, etc.**

MILLAN. Sobraba bien un palmo por a (*pora*?) *vos non* mentir, 234, 4.

5.

LIBRO DE ALEXANDRE.

1. a) **Que, si, quando no lo.** 1) **Que:** En Asia iaz Affrica que es mucho acabada, Frigia e Pamfilia *que non ge* deuen nada, stz. 267, v. 2; Tant auie grant coraçon e firme uoluntat *Que nos le* retenie castiello nin çiudat, 285, 2; Juraronlle al rey en ambas las sus manos *Que non le* fallirian nin enfermos nin sanos, 379, 3; Tant grant era la reuelta *que no la* podien cuntar, 403, 3; Quando uio Eneas *que nol* podie golpar, 511, 1; Bien se cuedaua Eneas *que nol* podrie erger, 512, 4; Assy *que non les* pudo can nin omne uentar, 579, 4; Membról quel dixiera que encantado era, *Que nol* farie mal fierro por ninguna manera, 601, 2; Dixo *que nol* preçiaua quanto un gurrion, 624, 4; Sópo *que nol* ualdrie lança nin espada, 639, 3; Cuemo Achilles auie el cuerpo encantado *Que nol* entrarie fierro, andaua esforciado, 678, 2; Mentrie qui uos dixies *que nol* auie grant sanna, 775, 2; De fronte ua Sagarius *que nol* saben fondon, 784, 3; Aun fizo al Dário por las huestes saluar, E *que non los* podiessen los griegos desbaratar, 820, 2; Las *que non se* rendioron fueron todas ardidas, 867, 2; Puso ennos primeros un muro de peones, *Que no lo* romperien picos nin açadones, 930, 2; Quando uío Gozeas *que nol* podie mouer, 1016, 1; Por tal *que nol* podiessen los griegos perçebir, 1028, 4; Aun uos quiero dezir otra soluçion, Por*que non uos* temades do nulla occasion, 1180, 2; Somos mucho fallidos en el Criador *Que nol* obedeçiemos cuemo a tal sennor, 1282, 2; El quebranto de Dário sabet *que nol* plazia, 1402, 2; Se fuesse por uentura Dário en las compannas, *Que nol* ualiesse nada su sauer nen sus mannas, 1434, 4; Luego lo ouieran morto, asmaron al fazer, Quando anocheçiesse de uiuo lo prender, Darlo a Alexandre por meior lo auer, *Que non se les* podies otra miente defender, 1538, 4; Veíe *que nol* ficaua nenguna guarnizon, 1540, 3; El omne cobdiçioso *que non se* sabe guardar, 1763, 1; Dixol *que nol* duldasse de fer su mestria, 2088, 1; Pero tan fieras cosas tu quieres ensayar, *Que non te* podrie nengun omne aguardar, 2112, 2; Fizo Dios grant cosa en tal omne criar,

Que no lo podien ondas esmedrir nen espantar, 2138, 4; Parósse a la puerta so rostro emboçado *Que no la* embargasse el infierno enconado, 2261, 4.

2) **Si:** Pesarmá, *se nol* fago, que sobre sy lo sienta, 771, 4; *Sy no nos* das conseio todos somos fynados, 1157, 4; *Se non se* meiorasse morir se dexaria, 2411, 4.

3) **Quando, etc.** *Quien non lo* ouies uisto tener-lo ye en locura, 284, 3; Sennor, dixioron ellos, se Dário falleçia Non era marauija, *ca non te* connoçia, 751, 2; Solamente de la uista quienquier que lo uiesse Lo podrie conosçer *magar nol* conoçiesse, 896, 2; Vío quel auie fecho Dios grant piadat, *Ca no la* ganara menos de grant mortandat, 1372, 4; Pora *qui non lo* uío semeiarie follía, 1801, 2.

b) Que, si, quando lo no. 1) **Que:** Diies *que se non* quieran por nada desordir Ffasta que uienga lora que ies mandes ferir, 59, 3; Veo *que se non* gabará ella deste mercado, 215, 3; Non ha rey enno mundo nen tal emperador Que tal fijo ouies, *ques non* touies por meior, 334, 4; Dizen *que se non* fuesse por la su arteria, Non salíra Achilles enton de la freyria, 389, 3; Ferió Ector en ellos *que les non* daua uagar, 525, 3; Lidiaron un gran dia *ques non* podien uençer, Non podien un a otro en carne se prender, 600, 1; Muchos pueblos y ouo de *que uos non* dixiemos, 1144, 1; Quierenlas en uerano los que andan carrera, *Que les non* faga mal el sol enna mollera, 1318, 4; Del *que las non* uiesse creydos non seriemos, 1363, 4; Sennor, dixo, que sabes todas las uoluntades, Al *que se non* encubren ningunas poridades, 1541, 2; Bien se *que te non* fiz derecho nin leal seruiçio Segund que deuie, non compli mi offiçio, 1542, 1; La carrera de Dário fallar no la podian, Por*que la non* fallauan grant duelo fazian, 1603, 3; Los que mays te cuidas en tu mano tener, Solo *que te non* uean te an de falleçer 1764, 4; Ally está el rey enemigo de la paz Faziendo a las almas iogos *que lles non* plaz, 2248, 4; Non serie omne biuo *que sse non* fus doliendo, 2480, 4.

2) **Si:** Dixo: yo non ternia que soe fijo darssamario *Sil non* fago que prenda de mi vn mal escarnio, 133, 4; Ca me terné por malo e por fijo de uieia *Sil non* fago espoluorar otra-mientre la peleia 205, 4; Oytme, mis amigos, naçí en ora dura, Terné *se me non* uengo, por de mala uentura, 377, 4; Diz a ti, Alexandre, nouo guerreador, Que *se te non* tornares, prenderás mal honor, 735, 4; Dizerté que te contyrá *se me non* quisieres creer, 1764, 1.

3) **Quando, etc.** Ternan-se por fallidos *quando te non* uieren, 73, 3; Mas se lo tu mandasses, empieço ty açia Que non prisies mal *quien lo non* mereçia, 751, 4; Querie que al bono la uerdat le ualisse, Non leuasse soldada *qui la non* mereçisse, 1391, 2; Da nos tu omnes, nos daremos las guardas, *Quando se non* cataren dentro serán entradas, 1409, 4; *Qui los non* entendiesse aurie fiera pauura 2309, 4; *Quien le non* obedeçiesse farie trayçion, 2471, 4.

2. **a) Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** Dixo vn escudero *que bien lo* connosçia, 135, 3; El rey Agamenon por*que bien lle* pareçie, Toliola a Achilles que mal non mereçie, 393, 3; Antes darme graçias por*que assy lo*

he complido, 1112, 4; Conseiólos el rey *que assy lo* feziessen, 1477, 1; Mas *que mucho lo* digamos, en fado lo ouieste, 1487, 4; Los *que mays te* cuydas en tu mano tener, Solo que te non uean te an de falleçer, 1764, 4; Mas tan bien se sabia la atalaya componer *Que nunca lo* podioron asmar nen connosçer, 1872, 4; Mas merçed te pedimos los *que bien te* queremos, Que salgas contra fuera, nos te reçibremos, 2062, 2; Quien no la ha prouada deue a Dios rogar *Que nunca ge la* dexe en este mundo prouar, 2097, 4; Prometioles grant promessa ante *que ende se* partiesse, 2198, 1; Mas deuemos a Dios la su merçed pedir *Que nunca uos* dexe ensayarlo nen sentir, 2259, 4; Los *que bien lo* amauan auien gran sabor, 2372, 3; Dios lo eche en lugar *que nunca lo* desate, 2453, 4; Greçia do a Perdicas, ca sey *que bien la* embrego, 2470, 2.

2) **Si:** Muchas uezes uos dixi, *se bien uos* acordades, De can que mucho ladra nunca uos del temades, 742, 3; *Si assy nos* estorçieren estos esta uegada, Quantos esto oyeren non darán por nos nada, 1060, 1; *Se mas te* contendieres serás por fol tenido, 2330, 2.

3) **Quando, etc.** Dexó al rey por muerto, *ca tanto se* valia, 155, 1; No lo creyó el rey, *ca bien lo* conoçie, 857, 3; Por fé a mi non pesa, *ca bien lo* mereçioron, 1067, 4; Exió luego a él, *ca mucho lo* temie, 1298, 3; Quando es contra mi *ca bien se* mantouioron, 2477, 3; La gloria deste mundo *quien bien la* quisier amar, 2506, 1.

b) Que, si, quando lo bien. 1) **Que:** Su amo Aristotil que lo auie criado, Era muy alegre por*que lo assi* ueya onrrado, 177, 4.

2) **Si:** Sertán mas leales *si lo assy* fezieres, 48, 3; Ca *si lo bien* entendiesses, mucho te escarneçen, 360, 4.

3) **Quando, etc.** Sennor, çiegos se uean *quantos uos mal* çegaron, 2488, 2.

3. **a) Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** Dixieron ellos: plaznos por*que uos lo* mandades, 293, 4; Faré de uoluntat lo *que uos me* mandades, 330, 4; A esto, dixo Páris, iudgo *que tu la* lieues, 362, 4; Dezie quel touiessen lo que fue narrado, Se non *quelles* (*i. e.* que él les) caye muy mal e diguisado, 470, 4; Dirán, se nos tornamos, *que ellos nos* uençioron, 687, 4; Sol *que tu nos* uiuas por ricos nos tenemos, 748, 3; *Que yo uos* quiera mucho todos los uiçios dezir, 2247, 1; Sennor, por estas nouas *que nos les* leuaremos Ne nos darán aluistra, nen grado non auremos, 2489, 1.

2) **Si:** Aqui te merçed pedir *si tu lo* destruyeres, 219, 1; *Si tu lo* otorgares que esto es derecho, Fallar-tas ende bien, auras end grant prouecho, 345, 1; *Si él me* cometies, él leuará el prez 649, 3; Mas *se uos nos* guiardes a essas santidades, Daruos emos offerendas que mannas uos querades, 2321, 3.

3) **Quando, etc.** Siempre lo quiso bien, *ca êl llo* mereçie, 857, 4.

b) Que, si, quando lo yo. 1) **Que:** Se quisierdes fazer esto *que uos yo* ruego, 329, 4; Que quier *que nos el* da, nos essol gradeçimos, 1771, 4; Por*que me uos* querades encara falleçer, Lo que yo non cuydo oyr nen ueer, 2130, 1.

2) **Si:** Mas *se lo tu* mandasses, empieço ty açia Que non prisies mal quien lo non mereçia, 751, 3; Todos dezien: sennor, ualer non te podemos; Mas merçed te pedimos los que bien te queremos, Que salgas contra fuera, nos te reçibremos: Sennor *se te tu* pierdes nos todos nos perdemos, 2062, 4; Por un mal castello que non ual un figo, Mal es *se te tu* pierdes e quantos son contigo, 2063, 2.

3) **Quando, etc.** Quando sopo el rey las nouas del cauallo tan fiere, Dixo: nol prenda ombre se lo yo non presiere: Creet que será manso *quando lo yo* ouiere: Perderá toda braueza quando yo en él souiere, 102, 3; En grant cueta uisquieron, nunqua den se quitaron, *Qval la ellos* ouieron a uos tal la dexaron, 186, 4.

4. **Que, si, quando lo — —.** 1) **Que:** No example. 2) **Si:** *Si lo yo* saber puedo non me lo podrá lograr, 34, 3; Quando sopo el rey las nouas del cauallo tan fiere, Dixo: nol prenda ombre *se lo yo non* presiere, 102, 2; Mas segunt nuestro seso, *si lo por bien* touiesses, Vna cosa de nueuo querriemos que feziesses, 291, 1; Darté yo casamiento muger qual tu quisieres, Por casar o casada qual tu por bien touieres, Nunca te falliré *si me tu non* falleçieres, 362, 3. 3) **Quando, etc.** Al sennor enna bataia muy bien lo aiudaua, Non tornarie rienda *quien se a él* llegaua, 113, 4; *Quando se omnes uien* catan uassallos e sennores, Caualleros e clerigos, a buelta lauradores, Abbades e obispos e los otros pastores, En todos ha achaques de diuersas colores, 1666, 1; Pero Galter el bono en su uersificar Seya ende cansado, do querie destaiar, Dixo de la materia mucho en este logar *Quando la el rey* dixo quierolo yo cuntar, 1935, 4; Las bonas calagrannas que se quieren alçar, Las otras moleias que fazen las uieias trotar, La torronts amorosa bona poral lagar, *Quanto uos omne non* podrie dezir nen cuntar, 1967, 4.

5. **Que, si . . . . lo no.** 1) **Que:** Ferió entre los reys que a Dário guardauan, Pocos auie hy dellos *que dél se non* duldauan, 959, 4; Yo te sabré dos aruoles en este monte mostrar, Que non puedes tal cosa entre to cuer asmar: *Quellos te non* digan en que puede finar, 2318, 3.

2) **Si:** Mas conseiarte quiero a toda mi cordura, *Se de nos te non* partes aurás mala uentura, 120, 4.

6. **Anomalous examples.** Ouol por uentura el infante a ueer, Des*que lo uisto* ouo nos le pudo asconder, 160, 2; *Aqui te merçed* pedir si tu lo destruyeres, Nunca acabarás todo lo que quisieres, 219, 1; Fijos e mugieres por mi los oluidestes, E lo que yo quis *nunca lo uos* contradixiestes, 2120, 4.

7. **Infinitive.** a) **Por bien lo:** Dieronie dos bondades *por bien la* acabar, 89, 2; Pero dubdaua Ector *en bien se* meter, 600, 3; Apeós el bon ombre *por meior se* encobrir, 1028, 3; *Por uerdat uos* dezir de tal golpe me pago, 1211, 4; Fizo cara fremosa *por meior se* encobrir, 1489, 2; Darlo a Alexandre *por meior lo* auer, 1538, 3.

b) **Por lo bien:** Mas preste fue Filotas *por lo luego* uengar, 971, 3.

6.

POEMA DE FERNAN GONÇALEZ.

1. a) **Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** *Que non le* (M. nol) pudieron (ellas) danno ninguno fazer (M. fer), stz. 111, v. 2; *Que non se* podrryan deso *los* frrançeses alabar, 129, 3; *Dezit le que non le* mejorare valia de vna meaja, 291, 4; Ovyeron *a tomar* (su) acuerdo *que non gelo* consejasen (M. departyessen), 337, 1; Estos e otrros muchos *que* (*non*) *vos* he nonbrado(s), 353, 1; Por *que non los* podia vençer andava muy cuytado, 364, 2; Pedimos te por merçed *que non nos* fagas traydores, 420, 2; Dixo *que non le* (M. nol) daria valia de vn (M. dun) dinero, 744, 3. 2) **Si:** *Sy non te* do *yo a* Espan(n)a non coma yo mas pan, 44, 3. 3) **Quando:** *Ca non se* tovo del por byen aconsejado, 207, 2; *Ca non lo* fueron nunca nuestros anteçesores, 420, 3; Avye sabor de ver le el *que* (M. quien) *non le* avya vysto (M. vydo), 606, 4.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non.** 1) **Que:** No example. 2) **Si:** *Sy los non* acorryan que eran desbaratados, 530, 4. 3) **Quando:** No example.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** stz. 129, v. 4: 144, 1; 231, 2; 553, 4; 750, 3. 2) **Si:** No example. 3) **Quando:** (3, 1); 748, 2.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** Por esto ha menester *que nos los a*cometamos, 305, 1; Que ¿por que avya miedo pues *que el me* ayvdava? 427, 4; *Que el les* deria que querye la serpyente demost(r)ar, 472, 3; (Ca) de lo *que ellos se* pagan tyenen lo por mejor, 629, 4. 2) **Si:** E *sy vos* (*lo*) quisyesedes el podrrya escapar, 624, 4; 3) **Quando:** *Ca el les* daria ayuda por que la anparasen, 115, 4.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que:** Quanto *que te yo* digo ten lo por *a*segurança, 238, 3. 2) 3) **Si, Quando, etc.** No examples.

4. **Que, si, quando lo — —.** No examples.

5. **Anomalous examples.** Por conqueryr *a* Espanna segunt que ellos cuydavan, Que ge la conquerryan mas non *lo* byen asmavan, 132, 4; Sennor, dicho te he lo que *te* dezir queria, 344, 1.

6. **Infinitive. Por non lo.** *Por non vos* detener en otrras ledanias, 267, 1.

7.

EL CANTAR DE LOS CANTARES.

1. a) **Si non lo.** *Si non te* connoces tu fermosa entre las mugieres, Cap. I, v. 7.

2. b) **Que lo bien.** ¿Qual es el to omado del amor por *que nos assi* coniurest? Cap. V, v. 9.

8a.

POEME D'AMOUR.—*Romania*, XVI, 368 ff.

1. a) **Que no lo.**

Que nom fiziese mal la siesta, v. 34.
Que nom fizies mal la calentura, 36.

Pero se *que no me* conoçia, 100.

b) **Que lo no.** No example.

2. a) **Que (si, etc.) yo lo.**

Mas *si* (*i*)*o te* vies una vegada,
A plan me queryes por amada, 96.
Yo conoçi luego las alfayas
Que yo ielas avia embiadas, 123.
Ela connoçio una mi çi(n)ta man a mano
Qu' ela la fiziera con la su mano, 125.

b) **Que lo yo.** No example.

8b.

DÉBAT DU VIN ET DE L'EAU.—*Romania*, XVI, 375 ff.

1. **Que no lo.**

Que no a homne *que no lo* sepa
Que fillo sodes de la çepa, v. 34.

2. **Que bien lo.**

E contar t'e otras mis manas,
Mas temo, *que luego te* asanas, 81.

3. **Que yo lo.**

Don vino, si vos de Dios salut,
Que vos me fagades agora una virtud, 56.

8c.

DE LOS DIEZ MANDAMIENTOS.—*Romania*, XVI, 379 ff.

1. **Que no lo.**

E demande del perdimento del bien, que muitas vezes poria el omne façer bien *que non lo* façe, p. 381, l. 37.

2. **Si no lo.**

En este peca qui fiere padre o madre o qui los façe irados por paraulas o por feitos o *si no los* socorre de lo que an mester, 380, 11.

Pero qual pecado a feito tal pena deve sofrir e levar, que, *si non se* escarmentasen los omnes del mal que façen, 381, 25.

9.

DOCUMENTOS DE ALFONSO X.

1. a) **Que non lo:** et si non el *que non los* ayudase, p. 9, l. 16 (Privilegio de Alfonso X del año 1253). é el aldea *que non les* ayudase, 9, 17 (Ibid.). Et aquellos privillegios que han los de Córdova *que non le* embargen, 22, 3 (Carta de Alfonso X del año 1254). ó por que diga que es su pariente, *que nonle* vala ni se excuse por ende, 42, 13 (Ordenanza de Alfonso X del año 1254).

b) Que lo non : de guisa que quando el otro á qui demandaba avie meester bocero *que lo non* podie aver, 42, 7 (Ordenanza de Alfonso X del año 1254).

2. **a) Que bien lo :** *que assi lo* usaron de grand tienpo (aca), 44, 19 (Fuero de Alfonso X del año 1254). mando *que assi lo* tomen, 45, 1 (Ibid.).

3. **a) Que yo lo.** No examples.

b) Que lo yo. en razon de los molinos del azeyte *que les yo* dy, 16, 3 (Privilegio de Alfonso X del año 1253). é en los castiellos *que les yo* di, 32, 25 (Carta de Alfonso X del año 1254). Vos sabedes bien *que vos yo* embié una mi carta, 38, 3 (Carta de Alfonso X del año 1254). por este heredamiento *que vos yo* do, 11, 22 (Privilegio de Alfonso X del año 1253).

10.

Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara.

(De la Crónica General que mandó componer el Rey Don Alfonso X.)

Cáps. I–VII.

1. **a) Que, si quando non lo.** 1) **Que :** et por *que non me* puedo dellos uengar (que yo YTZ), 218, 24; bien uos digo uerdad, *que non me* plaze por que esta carrera queredes yr, 222, 26; mas tantos eran muchos los moros *que no les* podien dar cabo, 230, 1. 2) **Si.** No example. 3) **Quando :** *ca non uos* es mester, 222, 15.

b) Que, si, quando lo non. 2) **Que :** mas pero tanto uos ruego *que me non* firades otra uez, 211, 10; desuio la cabeça del colpe, assi *quel non* alcanço sinon poco por ell onbro, 211, 14; bien cuedo *que lo non* faze por al sinon por que nos enamoremos dell (q. n. lo IBYT), 213, 21; yo non querria uiuir un dia mas fasta *quel non* uengasse, 214, 23; et demientre que el fuere en mio poder, conseiouos quel non fagades ningun mal (que nol T, q. n. le G), 215, 19; assi *quel non* pudo ella defender (que nol T, q. n. le B, q. n. lo I), 215, 22; pesoles tanto que non pudiera mas, assi *que se non* sopieron y dar conseio, 216, 22; por tal *que se non* guardassen dell (non se *Z*), 217, 23; por *que lo non* descrubiesse, 219, 15; pues *que me non* queredes creer de conseio (pues non me I), 223, 12; et *que lo non* deuie fazer por ninguna manera, 223, 21; Çertas uos digo *que lo non* tengo por bien (non lo *all MSS. exc.* EA), 226, 11; non uos incal tomar ganançias *que uos non* seran prouechosas, 227, 18. 2) **Si.** No example. 3) **Quando :** ca *vos lo non* podria soffrir (non uos lo I), 211, 11.

2. **a) Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que :** *que bien me* semeia que non fablan de otro cauallero tanto como de uos, 210, 16; de guisa *que luegol* fizo crebar la sangre por las narizes, 211, 21. 2) **Si :** *si bien me* queredes, 219, 2. 3) **Quando :** a esse logar mismo, *ca y uos* atendre yo, 219, 7; *ca mucho nos* tienen los moros en grand quexa, 231, 8.

b) Que, si, quando lo bien. No examples.

3. **a) Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** que cuedarien los omnes *que el les* basteçiera la muerte, 224, 4. 2) **Si:** et *si uos lo* touieredes por bien de yr comigo, plazer me a ende mucho (lo uos I), 221, 11. 3) **Quando:** et non ayas miedo, *ca yo te* amparare, 214, 7; et soffrit uos, *ca yo vos* prometo que tal derecho uos de ende, 217, 10; *ca el los* atendrie en la uega de Febros, 222, 5; fijos, non ayades miedo, *ca yo uos* dire lo que es, 228, 2.

b) Que, si, quando lo yo. 1) **Que:** et si assi fuere, non nos escape a uida, aun*quel ella* quiera amparar (aunque ella lo q. IB, mager que lo e. (quellal T) q. YT, maguer q. e. l. q. GZ), 215, 11; et enuia uos rogar quel enuiedes recabdo de lo *que uos ell* enuia dezir, 220, 10; de cosa *que uos yo* diga (yo *only in* EA), 223, 13; mas todo esto *que les el* mandaua fazer, 227, 15; ca los agueros, *que uos yo* dixe que nos eran contrallos, 229, 4; el espada con *que los el* descabeçava, 235, 9. 2) **Si:** et *si lo uos* touieredes por bien, gradesçer vos lo ya mucho (uos lo YGZ), 218, 8. 3) **Quando:** muy rico verna de Cordoua don Gonçaluo, si Dios quisiere, *dol yo* enuio, 219, 19.

4. **Que, si, quando lo — —** 1) **Que:** este *que uos* esta mi carta aduze, 218, 23; pues *que lo* a fazer auedes (q. de (a I) fazerlo au. YTGI), 219, 22; pora yr fazer aquello *que les* el tio mandara (el t. les IB, les mandaua su tio YTZ), 227, 17; Pues *que les* esto ouo dicho (esto les *all except* EA), 228, 10. 2) **Si:** et *si uos* alguna cosa fizo (si alg. EIBG), 215, 18. 3) **Quando:** Roy Blasquez *quando les* aquello oyo (les *lacking in* YTZGA), 224, 18; *Quando le* aquello oyo dezir (q. le aq. E, q. aq. le I, q. aq. *all the others*), 228, 18; et Munno Salido assi *cuemo le* esto ouo dicho (como le o. d. e. I, como esto dixo YTZ), 228, 22.

5. **Anomalous.** par Dios, tio, nunqua *uos yo* meresçi porque uos tan grand colpe me diessedes (yo nunca uos I, n. u. lo yo B), 211, 7; mas si fuxiere contra donna Llanbla, *yl* ella acogiere (e o ela coller A, e ella lo ac. *all exc.* E), 215, 10; en mal ora *uos yo* crie (yo uos cr. I), 223, 12; que mucho mas *la non* deuie el temer (non la G), 223, 25; don Munno Salido, siempre *me* uos fustes contrallo en quanto pudiestes (uos *lacking in* YTZAB), 225, 5; en mal dia *uos* yo do soldadas (do yo TB), 225, 18; pues que uos veedes a Munno Salido assi me desondrar, et *me* non dades derecho dell (non me *all exc.* EA), 225, 19.

11.

Gran Conquista De Ultramar.

Cáps. I–XX.

1. **a)** 1) **Que non lo:** e pues que *nol* falló, tornóse, pág. 505, col. 1, l. 37; por*que non se* aseguraba en el Soldan, 506, 2, 35; que non era home que las viese *que non se* maravillase ende mucho, 507, 1, 15; el rio es de guisa . . . *que non lo* pueden sacar contra á aquella parte, 510, 1, 37; habian de ir en pos los enemigos, *que non les* tomaba sabor de folgar, 510, 2, 18; así *que non los* osaron cometer, 511, 2, 5; é dijol *que nol* semejaba que era su honra, 514, 1, 8. 2) **Si non lo:** *si non les* diese sos quitaciones, 506, 2, 4.

b) Que lo non : é por destorbar aquel fecho en cuanto él pudiese *que se non* cumpliese, 505, 1, 10 ; é agua tanta, *que les non* fallesciese á homes nin á bestias, 505, 1, 29 ; por*que los non* levase el viento, 506, 1, 38 ; é aquellos *que se non* pagaren ende, 508, 1, 8 ; por*que lo non* entendiese Siracon, 509, 2, 11 ; é que si todos hí fincasen *que les non* abondaria, 512, 12 ; E pora facer atal fecho, *que se non* debiera trabajar tan buen home como él, 513, 2, 50 ; en tal manera que me segure *que me non* fagan mal sus yentes, 513, 2, 55.

3. **a) Que yo lo :** non por*que él se* connosciese nin se toviese por heredero de Mafomat, 508, 2, 33.

b) Que lo yo : do quier *que les él* mandase, 505, 1, 4 ; é faced aquello *que vos él* dirá, 508, 1, 31.

4. **Quando lo** — — estonces dijieron los mandaderos del Rey que lo firmase él, así *como lo* el Rey ficiera, 507, 2, 18.

12a.

Don Juan Manuel : El Libro de la Caza.

1. **a) Que non lo.** assi *que non se* falla que del Rey tolomeo aca ningun Rey nin otro omne tanto fiziesse por ello commo el, p. 1, l. 4 ; Et como quiera *que non los* tienen por tan nobles, 10, 10 ; Pero *que non se* atraviessen las peñolas, 10, 24 ; *que non se* despante nin dexe de comer por ellos, 22, 8 ; en guisa *que non le* pueda morder, 30, 19 ; Et quando los falcones fueren bien tenprados por aventura *que non la* fallaren, 34, 4 ; que guarde *que non le* de acomer, 35, 11 ; Pero non lo quiere el aqui nonbrar por *que non lo* tengan por muy chufador, 43, 20 ; Et que sea guardado *que non les* de el sereno enla cabeça, 51, 15 ; dize Don iohan *que non se* atreuio el a fablar enella ninguna cosa, 54, 29 ; Et la mejor maestria para esto es *que non los* dexen estar tanto, 64, 16 ; Et dize don iohan *que non se* acuerda delos nonbres, 89, 5 ; mas dize *que non sele* açerto de caçar en ellas, 89, 20.

b) Que lo non. Otrosi quando los canes llegan ala grua que esta derribada quanto bien la toman en guardar los falcones *queles non* fazen ningun mal, p. 8, l. 1 ; que los azores *quelo non* pueden fazer, 8, 7 ; Delos bornis non quiso Don iohan fablar mucho por*que se non* paga mucho dela su caça, 14, 8 ; en guisa *queles non* fagan mal, 17, 23 ; en guisa *que la non* pierda y, 25, 10 ; avn que algunas cosas menguen *que se non* pueden fazer, 27, 15 ; e que guarde *quel non* de acomer nunca de vna carne sobre otra, 35, 8 ; e deuen los guardar *que los non* pongan en ningun lugar, 35, 24 ; guardandol toda bia *quel non* fagan enojo, 36, 8 ; Otro si si quisiere caçar garça ese atreuiere enel falcon que traen, *quel non* pierda por alto deuen poner gentes enlos lugares do entendiere que se Rendra 38, 24 ; Pero el *quela non* puede matar, 39, 20 ; Et por que muchas otras cosas puede acaesçer en esta caça *que se non* podrian escriuir, 41, 5 ; Et si oviere vn torniello çerca delas piuelas por *que se non* pueda Reuoluer el falcon sera mejor, 49, 11 ; Et quando alguna

cosa se errasse *que se non* pudiese conplir. 49, 14 ; ca muchas cosas contesçe alos falcones enlas mudas *que se non* puede poner en escripto, 49, 17 ; Pero *quel non* deuen dar grant papo, 58, 29 ; Otrosi le deuen guardar *quel non* tengan en casa muy fria, 60, 24 ; e quando los caçadores las dizen los *quelo non* son tan caçadores que son chufadores (l. quelo non son tanto dizen que), 80, 20 ; mas los *quelo non* quieren creer lo tienen por mentira, 80, 25.

2. a) **Si non lo.** mas *si non se* vaña non deue consentir que se eche de noche, 17, 11 ; Et *si non gelo* pudieren fazer tragar deuen le meter vn pedaço del por la garganta, 63, 5 ; Et *si non lo* fazen caçarian con otro omne mas non commo pertenesçe caçar al grant señor, 67, 15.

b) **Si lo non.** ca *si lo non* fuessen mas seria la su caça enojosa que sabrosa, 19, 17 ; e *si la non* quisiere tomar volando deuen le tirar por el cordel, 24, 29 ; Et *sila non* matare dar le muy grant fanbre, 26, 5.

3. a) **Quando non lo.** Pero si el falconero fuere bueno el porna Recabdo atodo *ca non se* podria poner en escripto todas las maneras, 30, 7 ; Et alo en otro lugar *do non lo* solia auer, 83, 6.

b) **Quando lo non.** No example.

4. a) **Que bien lo.** Et dize Don iohan quelos que estos dos omes fazen en caça de açores *que mas lo* tienne el por marauilla que por sabiduria de caça, 8, 19 ; Et dize Don iohan *que yal* contesçio ael esto, 16, 13 ; por que es vna delas cosas *que mas le* enbraueçe, 17, 7 ; Et dize *que ya lo* fizo el muchas vezes, 43, 10 ; Et dize don iohan que avn el fasta que don Remon durche vino *que asi las* via caçar, 44, 13 ; *que asi lo* fare escriuir, 46, 28 ; Et commo fueren cresçiendo las tiseras, *que asi les* deuen menguar la quantia, 50, 20 ; Et dize don iohan *que ya la* mato y con falcones, 79, 24.

b) **Que lo bien.** e des*que la assi* matare deuen gela montar, 26, 12 ; ca por que esten magros e fanbrientos comerian tanto *quelo nunca* podrian toller, 47, 23 ; saluo ende quanto tañe alo que se allega la teorica alo *que se agora* vsa enlas enfermedades delos falcones, 55, 1.

5. **Si bien lo** *and* **Si lo bien.** No examples.

6. **Quando bien lo.** *quando bien se* ayudan los vnos alos otros, 7, 24.

7. a) **Que (si, etc.) yo lo.** Et la mejor maestria para esto es que non los dexen estar tanto los picos por fazer fasta *quel seles* comiençe aquebrar e adesgajar, 64, 17.

b) **Que (si, etc.) lo yo.** Et quien pudiesse vsar dela caça *commo la el* ordeno non erraria en ninguna cosa, 3, 7 ; e *mientre lo el* comiere, 29, 27 ; Et el falconero deue caualgar *mientre lo el* come, 37, 26.

8. **Que lo — —.** los girifaltes de *que se agora mas* pagan, 9, 4 ; Los escuros de *que se agora mas* pagan, 11, 9 ; Los neblis de *que se agora mas* pagan, 12, 21 ; Los baharis de *que se agora mas* pagan, 13, 22 ; que es la cosa del mundo de *que se ellos mas* espantan, 16, 17 ; e vn açor torçuelo perdiguero de *que se omne non* duela mucho, 67, 4.

12b.

DON JUAN MANUEL: EL LIBRO DEL CAVALLERO ET DEL ESCUDERO.

1. a) **Que, si, quando no lo.** 1) **Que:** Et el çapatero, *que non se* guardaua de aquello, 443, 20; por razon *que non se* podra escusar, 444, 26; et tan aprouechosa cosa es para los buenos et para los entendudos el saber, *que non lo* pueden olbidar por los bienes corporales, 464, 22; que quando uiniere, que falle *que non le* enpeçio la su partida dende, 465, 6; et que han nobres (l. nombres) señalados *que non se* entiendan en otra arte, 468, 16; por *que non le* oyo nin fablo enello tantas vegadas, por que complida mente lo pudiesse entender, 471, 7; Et para que esten las otras *que non se* mueben et que lieuen los otros çiellos, 478, 8; Ca sin dubda non ha omne que bien pare mientes en los fechos que nuestro señor dios faze en el çielo et en la tierra, *que non le* deua mucho amar et loar, 479, 11; *que non le* deua mucho temer, 479, 15; fara quanto pudiere por *que non lo* acabe, 495, 1; Todas estas aves biuen enlos yermos et enla tierra seca, *que non se* aprouechan del agua, 503, 21; o que vsan non por la arte dela estrelleria mas por los juyzios *que non se* pueden saber verdadera mente, 511, 24; deuemos crer que lo lieua por *que non le* quiere dexar en este mundo, 514, 27; Ca çierto es que los que son malos et fazen malas obras et non se arepienten nin se quieren partir dellas, que si alguna buena andança an, *que non les* puede durar mucho, 515, 26.

2) **Si:** Et *si non lo* guardare, todo su fecho traera errado, 486, 29; *si non vos* lo (l. si non vos) diere la repuesta tan complida, non uos marabilledes, 505, 15; Ca *si non lo* fiziessen, venir les ya ende dos daños muy grandes, 513, 26; Et por esta Razon *si non uos* pudiere responder complida mente, 516, 1.

3) **Quando, etc.** Et *do non las* fallare fechas, fazer las el buenas et derechas, 451, 14; Ca vnos toman muy grant pesar *quando non seles* faze lo que ellos quieren, 459, 21.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non.** 1) **Que:** Et faziendose estas cosas commo deuen, conplido es el sacramento, avn *que se non* fagan y otros conplimientos et noblezas, 453, 18; Et alas otras *que vos non* respondi, 461, 27; por que cuydo *que vos non* fazen tan grant mengua delas saber, 461, 28; Quiero vos agora dezir vnas cosas *que vos non* dixe entonçe, 475, 16; et da a entender alos suyos *que lo non* ha, 476, 26; Ca non a cosa por bien dicha que sea, que, sy muchas vegadas se dize vna en por (l. pos) otra, *que se non* enoje della el que la oye, 482, 22; Mas las otras estrellas (que) lieua el çielo, segund que de suso es dicho, son las *que se non* mueuen et son puestas asemejanza, 485, 25; Et en las cosas *quel non* cumplen mucho non fazen grant fuerça enle ayudar enellas, 494, 26; Et avn yo tengo *que vos non* podria responder complida mente, 512, 24; la otro (*sic*) es que las cosas que el a de librar *que las non* acomiende a otri, 519, 29; Ay muchas otras tierras en*que las non* conosçen nin se podrian criar, 520, 13; y que non son muy

aprouechosas nin de muy buen recabdo, *que me non* pongades culpa nin vos marabilledes ende, 520, 32 ; Et alo que me rogastes *que vos non* fiziesse mas preguntas, 521, 23 ; Capitulo L° primo, commo el cauallero ançiano Rogo al cauallero nouel *que se non* partiesse del ante de su finamiento, 522, 8 ; Et Rogo al cauallero mançebo *que se non* partiesse del fasta que el nuestro señor cumpliesse la su voluntad enel, 522, 20.

2) **Si**: o por que el (l. quel) seria daño o verguença, *si lo non* diesse, 457, 8 ; non vos deuedes marabillar, *si uos non* respondiere por aquellas palabras mismas que son de aquella arte, 468, 18 ; non uos deuedes marabillar, *si uos non* respondiere aesta pregunta tan complida mente commo avia mester, 471, 11 ; Et por ende non vos marabilledes, *si uos non* Respondiere aesto complida mente, 485, 17.

3) **Quando, etc.** Et como deue fazer enel tiempo dela guerra o dela paz, si fue (l. fuesse) muy Rico o abon(d)ado, Et commo *quando lo non* fuesse tanto, 458, 4.

2. a) **Que bien lo**: Et por que todas las cosas se fazen por lo que omne oye o por lo que dize, segunt *que ya vos* he dicho de suso, 481, 24 ; commo quier *que nunca le* puede fablar, 487, 17 ; Ca non ha cosa *que mas se* allegue con las maneras del cauallero que ser montero, 498, 25 ; *que asaz le* faze dios merçed complida, si enesto açierta commo deue, 507, 3 ; Et deuen ser çiertos que mucho bien que fagan *que nunca les* sera olbidado, 519, 12.

b) **Que lo bien**: Et lo *que se agora* alongo, tengo que non fue si non por mi peccado, 447, 10 ; Et otrosi tiene(n) que vna delas cosas *que la mas* acresçenta, es meter en scripto las cosas que fallan, 449, 4 ; Et asi es la caualleria conplida, ca todas las otras cosas *que se y* fazen son por bendiçiones, 454, 1 ; Et aesta pregunta *que me agora* fazedes, que cosa son los angeles, 470, 9 : vos deuedes saber que vna delas cosas *que se mas* vsa enla caualleria, 475, 17 ; et por que los omnes se aprouechen et se siruan dellas en aquellas cosas *quele(s) mas* cumplieren, 507, 22.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que**: Et quando falardes algunas (l. alguna) que non ay muy buen recado, tened por çierto *que yo la* fiz poner en este libro, 447, 21 ; Pero ala pregunta *que uos me* feziestes, commo quier que en pocas palabras non uos podria conplida mente responder, 451, 8 ; Et cred *que yo me* tengo por muy tenudo de vos seruir, 462, 18 ; Que muchas delas preguntas *que vos me* feziestes son de artes et de sçiencias çiertas, 467, 28 ; el fara en guisa que en qual quier manera que ayades cuydo (l. caydo) en qual quier destos pecados, *que el vos* dara consejo, 491, 27 ; Por que dios quiso dar galardon al alma del cauallero ançiano por los seruiçios *que el le* avia fechos, 522, 15. 2) **Si**: Pero deue omne auer buena sperança que, *si el se* aripiente, quel abra dios merçet, 493, 11 ; Et pues veo que vos tantas bue(n)as cosas me auedes mostrado, que *si yo las* pudiesse aprender, que me cu(m)plian asaz, 521, 27.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que**: Mas de *que lo vos* vierdes, si me enviades dezir que vos pagardes ende, 448, 12; Pero si atodas estas pre-

guntas *que me vos* fazedes non vos pudiere yo responder por aquellas palabras mismas, 467, 26 ; Et por ende, por que las preguntas *que me vos* fazedes son de sciençias señaladas, 468, 15 ; Et pues qui (l. que) en estas cosas *que me vos* preguntades yo he pensado quanto el mi flaco entendimiento alcancar (*sic*) puede, 472, 27 ; asi commo otras uegadas vos dixe, todas vuestras preguntas *que me vos* fazedes son dobladas, 486, 11 ; Et bien cred, fijo, que el que esto dixere et lo entendiere es (l. en) esta guisa que el (l. quel) seria muy graue del dar Respuesta a todas preguntas *que me vos* feziestes, 488, 16 ; Mas la manera en que omne semeja al mundo et es todas las cosas, es en esta manera *que vos yo* dire, 488, 17 ; Fijo, fasta aqui todas las preguntas *que me vos* feziestes fueron senziellas et dobladas, 494, 1 ; Fijo, commo quier que yo tengo que atantas preguntas et tan estrañas *que me vos* feziestes, que yo non vos podria responder, 520, 25 ; Otrosi vos ruego que, pues a estas preguntas *que me vos* feziestes uos he respondido enla manera que yo pude, 520, 33 ; para enmendar alguna cosa anuestro señor dios de muchos yerros et pecados *quel yo* fiz, 521, 5 ; non se commo pudiesse gradesçer adios et a vos quanto bien tengo que me ha venido en estas cosas *que me vos* mostrastes, 521, 19 ; Et çierto seed que yo tengo que todas estas cosas *que me vos* avedes mostrado son todas muy buenas, 521, 22. 2) **Si.** No example. 3) **Quando, etc.** Et *pues vos yo* reprehendo por que mudastes la manera et las preguntas, 495, 10 ; Et ruego vos que, *pues vos yo* respondi atodas las preguntas, 521, 8.

4. **Que, si lo —:** Mas todas estas criançàs et labores, quanto a aprouechamiento del alma pueden ser apouechamiento (l. aprouechosas) et puede(n) ser dañosas, et todo es segund la entençion aque el omne lo faze, Ca tan bien del criar delos fijos delos omnes buenos commo delas labores dichas, *si las omne* faze a entençion que dios sea ende seruido, 511, 11.

5. **Anomalous examples:** Et alo que cosa son los angeles, fijo, *ya vos yo* dixe quelas preguntas que me fazedes son de muchas sçiençias, 470, 6 ; Ca la razon le da entender que por quantas merçedes *le dios* fizo et por el poder que ha de acaloñar, 510, 20.

6. **Infinitive. a) Por non lo.** No example.

b) Por lo non: Bien veo, dixo el cauallero ançiano, que non puedo escusar *de uos non* responder, 467, 18 ; Por ende, *por vos non* detener, Responder vos he en pocas palabras, 468, 21 ; et *por vos non* alongar mucho el libro, et por que non fazen grant mengua, non vos los quiero y poner todos nombrada mente, 506, 18 ; que lo dexare *por vos non* fazer enojo, 521, 26.

12c.

Juan Manuel : Libro de Patronio.

Exemplos I–XXV.

1. **a) Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** p. 4, l. 2 ; 6, 11 ; 11, 21 ; 14, 18 ; 17, 23 ; 19, 19 ; 22, 1 ; 29, 27 ; 35, 4 ; 35, 11 ; 41, 2 ; 42, 20 ; 47, 3 ; 47, 14 ; 48, 9 ; 50, 8 ; 54, 17 ; 59, 11 ; 62, 1 ; 62, 12 ; 64, 17 ; 66, 16 ; 75,

9; 76, 5; 79, 13; 80, 23; 83, 16, 2) **Si**: 12, 20; 17, 20; 65, 8. 3) **Quando**: 54, 21; 65, 3; 94, 13.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non.** 1) **Que**: 7, 4; 8, 6; 9, 10; 17, 9; 18, 1; 18, 4; 18, 6; 19, 13; 20, 22; 27, 10; 28, 6; 31, 2; 34, 16; 41, 17; 43, 18; 55, 27; 56, 2; 57, 6; 59, 21; 70, 8; 72, 16; 72, 24; 73, 1; 76, 2; 76, 7; 77, 21; 78, 5; 79, 7; 80, 14; 86, 11; 93, 1; 94, 7. 2, 3) **Si, quando.** No examples.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que**: 19, 5; 22, 16; 40, 11; 42, 7; 66, 24; 79, 13. 2) **Si**: 50, 16. 3) **Quando**: 68, 26.

b) **Que, si, quando lo bien.** 1) **Que**: 3, 24; 3, 25; 34, 9; 72, 10. 2) **Si**: 72, 13. 3) **Quando.** No example.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que**: 27, 3; 47, 15; 28, 21; 74, 23; 95, 19. 2) **Si**: 76, 1. 3) **Quando**: 47, 3; 80, 5.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que**: 5, 2; 25, 2; 43, 7; 94, 12; 94, 15. 2) **Si**: No example. 3) **Quando**: 35, 20; 73, 3.

4. **Que, si, quando lo — —.** 1) **Que**: et aun los *que lo* tanbien non entendieren, 4, 23. 2, 3) **Si, quando.** No examples.

5. **Anomalous.** et non paredes mientes a quanto floxa mente *voslo* el rruega, 69, 9. (Nota: *el* eingeschoben, indem das vorhergehende *el* ausfällt *MEAGg.*)

6. a) **Por non lo**: 52, 27.

13.

JUAN RUIZ DE HITA.

1. a) Type **que non lo.**

Si algunos, lo *que non los* conssejo, quisieren vsar del loco amor, p. 6, l. 18.
rrespondieron los griegos *que non las* meresçien, stz. 47, v. 3.
achaque le leuanta por *que non le* de del pan, 93, 2.
vete, dil que me non quiera, *que nol* quiero n̄il amo, 101, 4.
mas, por *que non me* tengades por dezidor medroso, 161, 3.
que nol debatas luego, por mucho que se enforce, 187, 4.
pero *que non la* asueluo del furto tan ayna, 366, 2.
ella diz *que nonlo* tenie, 366, 4.
mucho mas te diria Saluo *que non me* atrevo, 421, 4.
Non puede ser quien mal casa *que non se* arrepienta, 436, 4.
¡ cuytado yo que fare *que non la* puedo yo catar! 590, 2.
non puede ser *que non se* mueva canpana que se tañe, 623, 4.
rreçelo he *que non me* oydes esto que uos he fablado, 663, 1.
fablad tanto E tal cosa *que non vos* a Repintades (*i. e.*, arrepintades), 721, 2.
que fablar lo *que nonle* cunple, 722, 3.
grand amor e grand ssaña non puede sser *que non se* mueva, 731, 4.
fasta *que non vos* dexen en las puertas llumasos, 744, 4.
¿por que amas la dueña *que non te* preçia nada? 786, 3.

en dueña *que non vos* quiere nin catar, nin ver? 788, 2.
esta lleno de doblas, fascas *que non lo* entyendo, 826, 4.
pues el amor lo quiere ¿por *que non vos* juntades? 843, 4.
E lechiga buena *que nol* coste nada, 1033, 5.
leuantose byen alegre de lo *que non me* pesa, 1078, 2.
e los de santa eulalya, por *que non se* ensanen, 1239, 2.
ally Responden todos *que non gelo* conssejauan, 1256, 1.
que non les ponen onrra la qual deujan aver, 1390, 4.
nin desir nin cometer lo *que non le* es dado, 1407, 2 (MS. T . . . . lo *que le non* es . . . .).
. . . . non me mates, *que non te* podre fartar, 1426, 3.
vino ael vn diablo por *que nonlo* perrdiese, 1456, 2.
. . . . ¿por *que non me* acorres? 1465, 2.
e dil *que non me* diga de aquestas tus fasanas, 1493, 4.
. . . . quanto ha *que non vos* vy ! 1509, 2.
que non gelo desdeñedes, pues que mas traher non pud, 1511, 2 (G. non gelo desdeñedes pues mas traer non pud ; T. *que non gela* . . . .).
de tu memoria amarga non es *que non se* espante, 1520, 4.
Contra los tres prinçipales *que non se* ayunten de consuno, 1603, 1.
e, Señor, vos veredes, maguer *que non me* alabo, 1624, 3.

b) Type **que lo non.**

Ante viene de la fraqueza dela natura humana que es enel om̃e, *que se non* puede escapar de pecado, p. 4, l. 26.
E viene otrosi dela mengua del buen entendimiento, *que lo non* ha estonçe, por que ome piensa vanidades de pecado, p. 4, l. 30.
vete, dil *que me non* quiera, que nol quiero n̄il amo, stz. 101, v. 4.
pero mayor poder rretuvo en sy *que les non* dio, 148, 4.
los *que te non* prouaron en buen dya nasçieron, 198, 1.
E maguer te presiese, crey *que te non* matarya, 214, 2.
Responde, ¿que te fiz? ¿por *que me non* diste dichã en quantas que ame? 215, 2.
Por cobdiçia feciste atroya destroyr, por la mançana escripta, *quese non* deuiera escreuir, 223, 2.
rruegal *que te non* mienta, muestral buen amor, 443, 2.
¿qual carrera tomare *que me non* vaya matar? 590, 1.
atodos dy por rrespuesta *quela non* queria non, de aquella feria mi cuerpo que tiene mi coraçon, 658, 3.
ella diz : "pues fue casada creed *que se non* arrepienta, 711, 3 (G. . . . cret ya que ella cons ienta (*sic*)).
por *que me non* es agradesçido nin me es gualardonado, 717, 4 (G. por *que non me* es . . . .).
. . . . por que quieres departyr con dueña *que te non* quiere nin escuchar nin oyr? 789, 3.
fago *que me non* acuerdo ella va começallo, 808, 3 (G. fago *que non me* . . .).

mas *quelo non* tenia e por end veniera, 903, 4 (G. mas *que non lo* . . . .).
pasaron byen dos dias *que me non* pud leuantar, 944, 3.
de la *que te non* pagares, veyla e Rye e calla, 1021, 4.
E yo, desque saly de todo aqueste Roydo torne Rogar adios *que me non* diese aoluido, 1043, 4 (G. *que non me* . . . .).
creo *que se me non* detenga en las carneçerias, 1072, 3 (G. tengo que *non senos* tenga . . . .).
aty, carnal goloso, *que te non* coydas fartar, 1075, 3 (G. *que non te* cuydas . . . .).
rrespondiole el flayre *quel non* serian perdonados, çerca desto le dixo muchos buenos ditados, 1129, 3.
En esto yerran mucho, *que lo non* pueden faser, 1145, 1.
diz: "vos que me guardades creo *que me non* tomedes, 1208, 3 (G. . . . . *que non me* tenedes).
al *que gela non* besa, tenian lo por villano, 1246, 3.
pocos ally falle *que me non* llamasen padrasto, 1311, 4.

2. **a**) Type **si non lo.**

synon lo ençendian dentro en la natura de la muger mesquina, otro non les atura, stz. 263, v. 3.
sy non se faze lo tuyo tomas yra E saña, 304, 3.
dar te ha lo que non coydas *sy non te* das vagar, 629, 4.
ssy nol dan delas espuelas al cauallo faron, 641, 1.
los plaseres de la vyda perdedes *si non se* amata, 857, 4.

b) Type **si lo non.**

si la non sigo, non vso, el amor se perdera, 689, 1.
ella, *si me non* engaña, paresçe que ama ami, 706, 2.
sy me non mesturardes, dire vos vna pastija, 916, 4.

3. Type **quando non lo.**

dexose de amenazar *do non gelo* preçian nada, 63, 4.
dixe: "querer *do non me* quieren ffaria vna nada," 106, 2.
rresponder *do non me* llaman es vanidad prouada, 106, 3.
pues Sea te soldada, *pues non te* quise matar, 254, 4.
el diablo lo lieua *quando non se* rrecabda, 275, 4, etc.

b) Type **quando lo non.**

algun triste ditado que podiese ella saber, que cantase con tristeza, *pues la non* podia aver, 91, 4.
erre todo el camino comō *quien lo non* sabia, 974, 4 (G. . . . quien non sabia).

4. **a**) Type **que bien lo.**

que sienpre lo loemos en prosa E en canto, stz. 11, v. 3.
que ante les convenia con sus sabios disputar, 48, 2.
que nunca lo diste avno, pidiendo telo çiento, 248, 4.
. . . . aqual quier *que ally se* atiene, 385, 3.
que mas la ençendia . . . ., 522, 3.
lo que mas le defienden . . . ., 523, 2.

que nuncalo beuiera, prouolo por su daño, 529, 2 (G. *que lo non* veujera . . . .).
Al *que demas lo* beue . . . ., 548, 3.
ca el *que mucho se* alaba . . . ., 557, 4.
. . . . ¡ quiera dios *que bien me* Responda ! 650, 2.
. . . . *que asas vos* he fablado, 717, 1.
que mal se laua la cara . . . ., 741, 4.
. . . . *que mal le* plaçe, 778, 4.
. . . . maguer *que sienpre vos* encargo, 832, 2.
lo *que nunca se* pude Reparar . . . ., 887, 3.
. . . . Ruego te *que bien las* mires, 908, 4.
des*que bien la* guarde . . . ., 933, 3.
. . . . *que byen te* dare que yantes, 967, 3.
. . . . *que ansy te* conbidas, 976, 1.
. . . . delo *que mas me* asaño, 1070, 4.
Por *que tanto me* tardo . . . ., 1382, 1.
. . . . de lo *que ayer me* fableste, 1140, 2.
. . . . Segund *que ya te* digo, 1481, 1.
lo *que cras le* fablardes . . . ., 1496, 2.
. . . . *que antes me* era abierta, 1519, 4.
. . . . *que luego la* vayan asoterrar, 1539, 1.
. . . . *que ansy nos* de vallen, 1601, 1.

b) Type **que lo bien.**

mas arde e mas se quema qual quier *que te mas* ama, 197, 2.
quando su muger dalyda los cabellos le corto enque avia la fuerça, E des*que la byen* cobro, asy mesmo con yra e aotros muchos mato, 308, 3.
El *que la mucho* sygue, 519, 1.
El *quela mucho* vsa, enel coraçon lo tyene, maguer se le escusa, 519, 1.
enlo *quel mucho* piden anda muy ençendida, 525, 4 (G. . . . que mucho piden).
la *que te oy* defama, cras te querra Amigo, 573, 3.
desque vy *que me mal* yua, fuy me dende sañudo, 1310, 4 (G, T, ... *que mal me* yua . . . .).
con ellas estas cantigas *que vos aqui* Robre, 1319, 2.
los mas nobles presenta la dueña *ques mas* preçia, 1338, 3 (G, T, . . . que mas se preçia).

5. a) Type **si bien lo.**

cantas : "letatus sum"—*sy ally se* detiene, 385, 2.
sy mucho la amades mas vos tyene amado, 798, 4.

b) Type **si lo bien.** No example.

6. a) Type **quando bien lo.**

del miedo que he avido ; *quando bien me lo* cato, 1382, 2.

b) Type **quando lo bien.**

amor, *quien te mas* sygue, quemas le cuerpo e alma, 197, 3.
cras te dara la puerta *quien te oy* çierra el postigo, 573, 2.

7. **a)** Type **que yo lo.**
que yo le quebrantaria . . . ., 62, 1.
el rrey *que tu nos* diste, por nuestras bozes vanas, 203, 3.
luego *que tu la* vieres . . . ., 647, 2.
. . . . aquesto *que yo vos* he fablado, 732, 4.
ella verdat me dixo, quiere lo que vos queredes ; perdet esa tristesa, *que vos lo* prouaredes, 802, 4.
lo *que yo vos* promety . . . ., 822, 2.
lo *que tu me* dema(n)das . . . ., 844, 1.
. . . . *que yo la* guardare byen, 851, 1.
ami non retebdes, fija, *que vos lo* meresçedes, 878, 3.
desseda son las cuerdas con *que ella se* tyraua, 1268, 4.
de lo *que yo te* dixe, luego me arrepenty, 1368, 3.
enlo *que tu me* dises, en(e)llo penssare, 1395, 2 (G. en lo *que me tu* dises . . . .).
que yo te ayudare com̃o lo suelo far, 1467, 4.
. . . . por *que tu me* sopesas, 1470, 4.
Cada dia le dises *que tu le* fartaras, 1530, 1.

b) Type **que lo yo.**
segund *quelo yo* deseo vos e yo nos abraçemos, 684, 3.
abiuo la culebra, ante *quela el* asa, 1350, 3.
que lieues esta carta ante *que gelo yo* diga, 1497, 2.

8. **a)** Type **si yo lo.**
¡ *Sy el vos* de la su gloria ! 1659, 3.
E *si tu me* tyrares coyta e pesares, 1688, 1.

b) Type **si lo yo.**
sy las yo dexiese començarien a rreyr, 447, 4.
sy vos yo engañare, el ami lo demande, 817, 4 (G. sy yo a uos engañare . . . .).

9. **a)** Type **quando yo lo.**
de *quanto yo te* digo, tu sabes que non miento, 185, 4.
anda todo el mundo *quando tu lo* rretientas, 212, 2.

b) Type **quando lo yo.**
mas quanto esta mañaña del camino non he cura, *pues vos yo* tengo, hermana, aqui enesta verdura, 989, 4.

10. Type **que lo dios.**
Segund le dios le demostrase fazer señas con la mano, 51, 3 (G. quales dios les mostrase fazer sigños).
de lo quel pertenesçe non sea des deñoso ; con lo *quel dios* diere, paselo bien fermoso, 780, 4.
Señora, non querades tan horaña ser, quered salyr al mundo *aque vos dios* fizo nasçer, 917, 4.

11. **Anomalous examples.**
non se ffuerte nin rreçio *que se contigo* tope, 187, 3.

ssy *vos lo bien* sopiesedes qual es e quan preçiado, vos queriades aquesto que yo vos he fablado, 732, 3 (G. si *vos bien lo* . . . .).

de eso que vos rresçelades *ya vos yo* asseguro, 1482, 2 (G. . . . yo uos asseguro).

12. **Infinitive.**

a) Type **por non lo.**

en suma vos lo cuento *por non vos* detener, 1269, 1 (G. . . . *por vos non* detener).

vy muchas en la tienda ; mas *por non vos* detener, e por que enojo soso non vos querria ser, 1301, 2 (G. . . . *por uos non* detener . . . . enojoso non vos quiero seer ; T. . . . por vos non demeter . . . . enojo non vos queria faser).

b) Type **por lo non.**

E *por las non* dezir se fazen des amigos, 165, 2.

14.

Poema de Alfonso Onceno.

1. **a) Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** Dise me mi voluntad *Que non me* dexe rregnar, stz. 179, v. 4. 2, 3) **Si, quando, etc.** No examples.

b) Que, si quando lo non. 1) **Que:** A los moros pases dió, *Que les non* fesiesen guerra, 2, 2 ; Sy uos queredes valer E *que uos non* mengue cossa, 117, 2 ; Muchas vegadas afrontar *Que gelos non* detouiesse, 309, 4 ; *Que les non* fincase cossa Por oro ni por auer, 551, 1 ; Por tal de la guardar, *Que se non* boluiesen, 1000, 3 ; E por tienpos de la vuestra vida, *Que vos non* ffagan mas guerra, 1128, 4 ; Ssus vassallos sse farán, Por *que uos non* quieren bien, 1139, 4 ; Sodes rey de grand bondad, *Quel non* ssaben otro tal, 1160, 2 ; Vos tenedes vna armada, *Que los non* puedan fuir, 1245, 2 ; Mas *que nos non* aueredes, Que yo tengo grant poder, 1246, 3 ; Nunca pasaré el puerto, Fasta *que los non* vengar, 1402, 4 ; Por mi e por mi conpanna, *Que uos non* dexes perder, 1507, 2 ; E otros fueron finados, De *que me non* biene emiente, 2183, 2 ; *Que le non* dedes mas guerra, 2392, 1. 2) **Si:** O que luego lo matassen *Ssi lo non* podiessen prender, 262, 2 ; E *sse ge lo non* tomassen, Que la villa rrenderian, 354, 3 ; E será grand marauilla, *Ssi nos non* desçercar luego, 1091, 4 ; E vos *si vos non* quexardes. 1107, 1. 3) **Quando:** No example.

2. **a) Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** E *que bien sse* ayudasen Por sienpre de la ssu vida, 164, 3 ; *Que ayna sse* guissase, E a Toro fuese ssu via, 201, 1 ; O *que luego lo* matassen, Ssi lo non podiessen prender, 262, 1 ; Enbiaron menssageria. . . . *Que luego lo* enbiasse, 303, 4 ; Con fijos dalgo omenaje, *Que nunca vos* faga danno, 591, 4 ; Vos sodes el rrey mejor, *Que nunca se* bió en Seuilla, 1212, 4 ; *Que alli los* fallaredes, 1414, 4 ; E sepades sin dubdança *Que luego las* quitarán, 2206, 2. 2, 3) **Si, Quando, etc.** No examples.

b) Que, si, quando lo bien. 1) **Que:** Por *que lo mucho* amó, 382, 1 ; La honrra fue del rrey de Benamarin, *Que se y* perdió aquel dia, 1840, 4 ; Poderio e altura *Que te sienpre* ennobleçió, 1881, 2 ; *Que te sienpre* ayudó, 1882, 3. 2) **Si:** El cauallo vos matarán *Sy vos mucho* quexaredes, 36, 2 ; Don Iohan, *sy me bien* quier, 180, 1 ; Que muy mester lo auemos, *Ssi nos la luego* enbiar, 1012, 3 ; Reyna, *si bos bien* ama, Yo sse que verná luego, 1171, 3 ; El rrey de Castiella quier Prouar *si me bien* queredes, 1181, 4 ; Vos, *si me bien* queredes, 1246, 1 ; *Si lo asi* fesieras, sennor, 1379, 1 ; *Si vos bien* quisier seruir, 1452, 2. 3) **Quando:** *Quien lo mucho* desea, 854, 4 ; E *pues me bien* comensastes, 1185, 3.

3. **a) Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** *Que él los* queria heredar, 947, 3 ; *Que uos me* dedes sin falla, Esta honrra, si uos ploguier, 1285, 1 ; El que se a ti tornase, *Que tu lo* rreçibirias, 1505, 4. 2, 3) **Si, Quando, etc.** No examples.

b) Que, si, quando lo yo. 1) **Que:** Ssy quisier *que lo yo* uea, 205, 4. 2, 3) **Si, Quando, etc.** No examples.

4. **Que, si, quando lo — —.** 1) **Que:** *Que le* de Dios parte venga, 7, 1 ; El rrey cobró ssu tierra, *Que le* forçada tenia, 322, 4 ; E perdemos buen ssennor, *Que nos* mucho bien fasia, 880, 4 ; Pues que te quebró la lança, *Que te* muy bien defendia, 900, 4 ; Brunnuelos con manteca, *Que le* el grand ssennor enbia, 926, 4 ; E nos non ssomos joglares, *Que vos* algo demandemos, 1113, 4 ; *Que bos* muy grand los dará, E por sienpre bien querria, 1469, 1 ; El *que se* a ti tornase, 1505, 3 ; *Que los* muy bien rresçebia, 1955, 4 ; Al rrey de Françia llegó, *Que lo* muy bien rresçebió, 2199, 4 ; E la costa desta guerra, *Que bos la* muy bien pagasen, 2339, 2. 2) **Si:** *Si le* en tuerto yoguierdes, 136, 3 ; *Sy vos* otro rey ffaser Mal tuerto sin derecho, 137, 1 ; *Si la* por muger tomaredes, 186, 2 ; *Ssi lo*, ssennor, non matades, 240, 3 ; *Ssi le* Dios non acorrier, 561, 4 ; E *sy le* desto ploguier, 568, 1 ; *Si le* uos non acorredes, 632, 4 ; *Se me la* el rrey pedia, 1027, 1 ; *Si lo* del mundo non echo, 1104, 3 ; Amos tomaredes muerte, *Ssi uos* en canpo fallades, 1109, 4 ; *Si le* bos non acorredes, 1198, 4 ; *Si nos* él non falleçier, 1298, 4 ; E *si lo* esto proguier, 1299, 1 ; *Si le* bos non fallesçedes, 1350, 4 ; *Si lo* en canpo fallar, 1628, 1 ; E *si la* el buen rrey ganar, 2052, 1 ; *Si le* Dios non acorrier, 2293, 4 ; *Si le* Dios non acorrier, 2328, 4 ; E *si le* esto progier, 2374, 1 ; *Si me* Dios dexar beuir, 2402, 2. 3) **Quando:** Todo el mundo fablará De *commo lo* Dios conplio, 320, 2 ; De la lid fue fablar, En *commo la* Dios vençió, 836, 2 ; *Quando me* Tarifa nenbra, 2382, 1.

5. **Anomalous examples.** ¡ Ya nunca *vos* yo mas veré ! 893, 4 ; Que todos *se* bien guissasen, 945, 1 ; Por esto *vos* mucho amo, 1253, 1 ; Todos *se* muy bien guisaron, 1261, 1 ; Ayna *se* bien guisasen, 1268, 2 ; Luego *se* bien guisaron, 1292, 1 ; Sienpre *bos lo* a bien ternán, 1393, 4 ; Que todos *se* bien perçiban, 1454, 1 ; El fijo de Santa Maria, *Le* non mostró atal plaser, 1588, 4 ; Todos *se* luego ayuntaron, 1653, 1 ; Todos *se* luego ferieron A muy grandes espadadas, 2276, 3.

6. **Infinitive.** 1) **Por lo bien.** *Para sse bien* ayudar, 179, 2; *Por sse mejor* conosçer, 788, 4; *Por se mejor* esforçar, 2436, 3. 2) **Por lo — —** *Para se* con él benir, 1225, 4; *Por nos* todos defender, 1921, 4.

Note: Add to § 3b 1) **Que lo yo** the following: Si lo en canpo fallar A tanto *que lo yo* bea, Non podrá escapar, 1628, 2.

15.

Rimado de Palacio.

(Stzs. 1–500.)

1. a) **Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** Que son siete por cuenta, aquí porné yo quales, *Que non las* conplir omne son pecados mortales, 174, 4; . . . . cuydan *que non lo* vemos, 209, 3; Por*que non se les* pueda el pobre defender, 262, 3; . . . *que non me* sienta el viento, 431, 4; E farán vuestra cuenta *que non vos* finque nada, 458, 2; Pero vn ruego vos fago, *que non vos* cueste nada, 458, 3. 2) **Si:** *Si non le* costó quarenta ayer de vn omne estranno, 299, 4; *Si non gelas* atienpra aquel Sennor justo e santo, 407, 2. 3) **Quando, etc.:** *Ca non nos* emendamos nin avemos mejoria, 189, 3.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non.** 1) **Que:** Con aqueste pecado Adam fue mal fadado, Que lo *que lo non* cunplia quiso auer prouado, 165, 4. 2) **Si:** E pénalo gravemente, *si se non* arrepienta, 87, 4; *Sy me non* acorriere la tu noble bondat, 127, 3. 2) **Quando:** No example.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** . . . *que nunca te* seruy, 17, 1; El *que asi lo fase*, 31, 2; . . . *que siempre se* ençiende, 58, 4; . . . *que mal les* gradesçí, 84, 4; . . . *que asás me* ha dannado, 92, 4; *Que nunca lo* dexara, 159, 4; Por*que asy lo* guarde de yr a mal logar, 176, 4; . . . *que asy lo* puedas fer, 278, 4; ¿Que plaser es al tal *quando bien me lo* comido? 483, 4. 2) **Si:** Los físicos lo disen, *si bien me* viene miente, 191, 1; *Sy asi se* engannaren, ellos son los culpados, 288, 4. 2) **Quando, etc.:** E *quien mal lo* fisiere auer sa de perder, 4, 4; Ca *quien asy lo* fase quierese egualar, 36, 2; *Quantos mal se* fallaron por mal gusto seguir, 167, 2.

b) **Que, si, quando lo bien.** 1) **Que:** Será de grant ventura el *que lo bien* entiende, 58, 2; Por lo *que te mal* fiso, deues a Dios tener, 181, 2; Si los *que las bien* saben, las touiesen en cura, 291, 2. 2) **Si:** No example. 3) **Quando, etc.:** A Josep, su hermano, *quando le así* vendieron, 96, 2; *Quien lo así* fisiere, que Dios non lo defienda, 141, 4; E *quien lo bien* fisier, 175, 4.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** Non sé, Sennor, otra arma que tomé en tal sason, Con *que yo me* defienda de aquesta tribulaçion, 400, 2. 2) **Si.** No example. 3) **Quando, etc.:** *De como él lo* fiso enxienplo tomarás, 179, 2; E *como nos las* regimos Dios nos quiera defender, 353, 3.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que:** Otórgame, Sennor, *que la yo* pueda aver, 13, 3; Amaban a las gentes *que les él* defendió, 46, 4; E *que lo él* perdiese, yo poco curaria, 56, 3; Segunt *que lo yo* entiendo mucho es

menester, 239, 3 ; Bien sabe *que les él* pone e tómales la verdat, 369, 2. 2) **Si.** No example. 3) **Quando:** Ca Dios me ayudara por *quien lo yo* partiera, 140, 4 ; Ca *como lo tu* fisieres asy serás judgado, 183, 4 ; A *quien les tu* açotas, por los tu bien faser, 393, 2.

4. **Que, si, quando lo — —.** 1) **Que:** *Que les* yo aquí diré, ca los he bien usados, 63, 4 ; Saluo obediençia *que les* leal deuemos, 236, 4. 2) **Si:** *Sy te* saluar cobdiçias, dello te guardarás, 50, 4. 3) **Quando:** No example.

5. **Anomalous.** Asi *les* Dios aluengue los dias de las vidas, E despues deste mundo las almas an perdidas, 229, 3 ; Por ende non se quexe quien a Dios va rogar Alguna petiçion e *la non* va recabdar, 412, 2 ; Yo nunca vi tal ome e tan descomunal, O *vos yo* tiraré dende asy Dios me val, 432, 4.

6. **Infinitive.** a) **Por non lo:** *Por non le* ver de enojo, 135, 3.

b) **Por lo bien:** Al próximo ynoçente *por a le* (l. pora) *mas* dannar, 53, 4 ; Mas tibio e muy frio *para se mal* perder, 120, 2 ; Fablan vnos con otros *por las siempre* abaxar, 363, 3. **Por lo — —:** A quien les tu açotas, *por los* tu bien faser, 393, 2. **Anomalous:** Devemos perdonarle e *le non* tener rencura, 408, 2.

16.

Poema de José.

1. **Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** Stz. 28, v. 4 ; 51, 2 ; 56, 2 ; 119, 3 ; 151, 3 ; 152, 1 ; 155, 4 ; 162, 2 ; 217, 1 ; 260, 2. 2) **Si:** 1, 4 ; 2, 4 ; 198, 4 ; 269, 3 ; 271, 4. 3) **Quando, etc.:** 196, 3 ; 244, 3.

2. **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** 3, 3 ; 31, 2 ; 50, 1 ; 64, 3 ; 64, 4 ; 65, 4 ; 84, 3 ; 93, 4 ; 99, 2 ; 122, 4 ; 143, 1 ; 190, 3 ; 208, 3 ; 209, 2. 2) **Si:** 172, 4 ; 189, 3 ; 261, 3. 3) **Quando:** 280, 3.

17.

Vision de Filiberto.

1. a) **Que no lo:** ¿por *que non me* rrespondes? p. 52, l. 3 ; bien creo *que non te* huele agora tan bien, 52, 16 ; non te conuiene dizer ya rruegos nin oraçiones *que non te valdera* aqui ninguna cosa, 58, 28.

b) **Que lo no.** No example.

2. **Quando no lo.** *pues nō me* quisiste rregir, 54, 26.

3. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo:** *que bien te lo* puedo dezir, 55, 22 ; et *sy nunca te* llegaras alas costunbres, 56, 21 ; que tanta es la su clueldat *que todavia se* ensanna mas, 57, 24 ; non ayas della rreçelo *que aqui tela* mudaremos, 58, 33 ; ansy comõ *sy nunca lo* uiesen conoçido, 59, 35.

b) **Que lo bien.** dime quien es el *que te asy* ha quebrantado, 51, 12 ; nin tyenes otrosy carnes mortesynas de *que te mucho* pagauas, 52, 13.

4. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo:** *quando yo te* pedia gallynas dauas me tu gallynas e capones, 54, 39 ; quando yo veya *que tu me* demandauas las cosas, 55, 27 ; *que yo te* queria dar carne, 55, 37.

b) Que lo yo: el dote *que le tu* mandaste, 52, 32 ; nin vna delas mejores *que les tu* dexaste, 52, 41.

5. **a) Que dios lo:** que tu agora dixiste *que dios te* auia criado, 53, 35 ; et tu non quisiste vsar deste sennorio *que dios te* dio sobre mi, 54, 8.

b) Que lo dios: pues *sy te dios* crio para que touieses sennorio sobre mi, 53, 42.

18.

PEDRO DE LUNA : DE LAS CONSOLACIONES DE LA VIDA HUMANA. LIBROS I–X.

1. **Que no lo:** p. 565, col. 1, l. 58 ; 565, 1, 60 ; 566, 1, 16 ; 566, 2, 25 ; 571, 1, 3 ; 573, 2, 29 ; 575, 2, 55 ; 578, 1, 9 ; 578, 1, 54 ; 588, 2, 6 ; 588, 2, 9.

2. **a) Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** por*que despues los* pueda desamparar, 570, 1, 44. 3) **Quando:** *ca mucho te* aprovecha, 581, 2, 1.

b) Que, si, quando lo bien. 1) **Que:** commo dice san Gregorio en una homelia : "Los males *que nos aquí* comprimen, á Dios ir nos costriñen," 564, 2, 32 ; Onde en otro lugar (San Gregorio) dice : "Los males *que nos aquí* apremien," 572, 2, 5.

3. **a) Que, si yo lo.** No example.

b) Que, si lo yo: ca Dios dijo á Abraham : "Sal de la tu tierra é de la tu generacion, é ven á la tierra *que te yo* mostraré," 573, 2, 15 ; Et eso mesmo dijo á Isaaque : "Fuelga en la tierra *que te yo* diré," 573, 2, 17.

19a.

EL LIBRO DE EXENPLOS POR A. B. C. DE CLIMENTE SANCHEZ, ARCHIDIACRE DE VALDERAS, MS. DE PARIS.
Romania, VII. 481 ff.

1. **a) Que non lo.** No. 2. por *que non los* vea, p. 485, l. 35. No. 11. por*que non se le* cayese el quesso, 490, 10. No. 19. e dixo *que non le* aplazia ninguna dellas, 494, 34 ; que si por ventura por non le conoscer *que non le* resceberia en su cassa, 495, 6 ; pues assy es, por*que non me* (de) mas duras penas, 495, 29. No. 23. e el encantador le dixo *que non lo* podria fazer, 497, 33 ; E el veyendo *que non sse* podria encobrir, 499, 2. No. 28. ca la justicia de Dios lo fazia durar *que non se* desatasse, 502, 15. No. 49. mas algunos son *que non se* pueden domar, 512, 24. No. 61. e descobriole vn secretto *que non le* avia rreuelado, 518, 36 ; El dixo *que non le* preguntaua quien fuesse, 519, 1. No. 65. dixo *que non la* podia dezir, 523, 2.

b) Que lo non. No. 33. e des*que lo non* fezieron, p. 504, l. 34. No. 48. en manera *que le non* podian enpesçer, 511, 42.

2. **a) Si non lo.** No. 62. *Sy me non* consientes, yo degollare vn sieruo tuyo, 520, 3.

b) Si lo non. No. 23. e *si lo non* fazeys, de aqui a poco me vereys

muerta, 498, 23. No. 30. deuemos ser rreprehendidos de ser desagrauiados (*sic*) *si los non* amamos e los non honrramos, 503, 19.

3. **a) Que (si) yo lo.** No. 8. mando a vno que tenia su forno que a qualquier *que el le* enbiase, 488, 36. No. 19. e con todas las otras cosas *que el le* avia de dar, 494, 39. No. 20. lo *que tu me* cuentas, 496, 14; lo *que tu me* cuentas, 496, 16; e *sy tu me* fueses agradesçido, 496, 38.

b) Que lo yo. No. 23. e ssi fezieres lo *que te el* dixiere, tu averas lo que deseas, 497, 35.

4. **Et lo non.** No. 30. si los non amamos *e los* non honrramos, 503, 19.

19b.

El Libro de los Enxemplos, ms. de Madrid.

I–C.

1. **a) Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** pág. 448, col. 1, l. 12; 449, 1, 13; 453, 2, 29; 454, 1, 3; 457, 1, 19; 457, 1, 30; 457, 2, 12; 458, 1, 14; 462, 1, 23; 465, 1, 45; 466, 2, 48; 468, 2, 50; 469, 1, 9; 470, 1, 46; 470, 2, 37; 471, 1, 4. 2) **Si:** 460, 1, 51. 3) **Quando:** 461, 2, 11.

b) Que, si, quando lo non. 1) **Que:** El monje respodió: "Si estonce ansí te lo mandó, agora manda *que lo non* fagas," 456, 2, 37; Estonce ellos con vergüenza luego fueron é trayeron el cuerpo de Dios, é cognosciólo, é veyendo *que lo non* podie tomar, 467, 1, 35. 2, 3) No example.

2. **a) Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** 452, 1, 21; 458, 2, 29; 462, 1, 28; 462, 2, 24; 462, 2, 36; 469, 1, 47; 469, 2, 19. 2) **Si:** 459, 1, 36; 461, 1, 23. 3) **Quando:** No example.

3. **a) Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** é lo *que él te* dijo, 448, 2, 15; E de *que ella se* vió luego ansí menospreciada, 468, 1, 40; segun *que ella les* mandara, 468, 1, 53; juró *que él lo* oyera, 471, 1, 6. 2) **Si:** *si tú lo* viste, 451, 1, 39. 3) **Quando:** No example.

b) Que, si, quando lo yo. 1) **Que:** El viejo partió los panes segun *que le él* pedió, é nunca cesó de dar limosna, 465, 2, 43. 2, 3) **Si, quando, etc.** No example.

20a.

La Estoria de los Quatro Dotores de la Santa Eglesia Capitulos I–C.

1. **a) Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** tan alto en el ayre *que non las* podia ver omne, p. 9, l. 13; por *que non se* ordenase, 11, 23; deues temer *que non te* venga, 12, 3; e *que non se* queria conuerter a la fe, 13, 3; veamos *que non la* demos, 22, 12; por que non vesitas a Jesu Christo, e por *que non le* fablas, 24, 14; e por *que non le* oyes? 24, 15; el *que non lo* dio a si mismo, 28, 15; las cosas *que non se* conpran, 30, 11; por *que non se* torne, 30, 18; e commo sepan *que non lo* daua (l. deuan) prometer, 33, 1; por *que non lo* tomara, 35, 8; *que non lo* afrontase, 35, 23; e fazes *que non se* faga mala

cosa, 44, 15; lo *que non se* podia conplir, 46, 32; por *que non se* quiso enmendar, 48, 27; e *que non me* çier(r)es la puerta, 52, 4; Veo muchos *que non se* pueden partir, 66, 29; *que non te* enseñes tu mismo, 68, 34; *que non se* desgastase el frayre, 71, 16; *que non lo* dexases, 72, 14; mas faze engaño *que non lo* sufre, 73, 20; por *que non me* demandes demandas de moços, 77, 10; por *que non nos* fartemos del pan, 82, 26; E gran cosa es *que non lo* semejas, 91, 7; Tien mientes, hermano, *que non te* conuiene auer, 96, 9; por *que non lo* pudo fallar, 112, 12; non te amonesto *que non te* glories, 114, 10; e *que non te* alabes de la nobleza del linage, 114, 11; e *que non se* rroyan los cabellos, 115, 17; mas enfañiendo (l. enfiñiendo) *que non lo* saben, 120, 28; por *que non le* conuiene, 120, 30; Nunca oyas palabra desonesta, *que non te* ensañes, 127, 12; *que non te* diga el saluador, 156, 21; lo *que non se* cubre, 160, 15; temer *que non lo* pierda, 163, 23; Por *que non te* oya, 172, 30; por *que non me* preenda, 173, 1; ca puede ser *que non me* muerda, 173, 15; e foyr *que non los* vea ninguno, 173, 20; por *que non se* enseñoree a mi, 174, 6; por *que non te* sientes muerto, 175, 26; *que non la* espriman, 176, 26; mas por *que non la* he, 178, 12; enfiñe *que non lo* sabe, 182, 25; lo *que non te* pueda tirar, 184, 17; e defindiole *que non se* fuese, 193, 3; por *que non te* pueden resçibir? 196, 2; o por *que non me* enpeesçiese, 198, 11; de los *que non me* fazian bien, 200, 27; veed *que non vos* engañe ninguno, 210, 1; del manjar *que non se* corronpe, 213, 13; *que non lo* sopiese yo, 222, 1; por *que non me* paresçia, 222, 16. 2) **Si:** com(m)o *si non lo* ayas dicho a ninguno, 75, 13; *si non lo* as, librado eres de gran carga, 76, 1; *si non se* grauase por non fialdat, 140, 15; *sy non te* guardares, 148, 28; *si non lo* fizieres (l. fueres) por obra, 152, 28; mas aun *sy non la* dixieres, 170, 26; e *sy non lo* faga, te ensañes a mi, 196, 29; E malo so yo, *sy non te* ame, 196, 30; *si non las* sostouieses, 198, 22; *si non la* aborresçiese, 218, 3. 3) **Quando, etc.** e *commo non lo* fallase, 16, 24; las *quales non me* acuerdo, 64, 11; a la *qual non nos* seria mandado poner ningund talante, 154, 14; *commo non te* mengue ninguna cosa, 196, 13; *Ca non se* mueue el oydor a correr, 208, 9; el *qual non se* pierde, 215, 2.

b) Que lo non: Por tanto la biuda mançebiella, *que se non* puede detener o non quiere, ante tome marido que al diablo, 149, 26.

2. **a) Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** No example. 2) **Si:** e non se *si asi se* diga segund nos, 82, 19. 3) **Quando, etc.** por los *quales luego se* quebrantan los cuerpos delicados, 126, 22; *quando aun se* escalentaua la sangre de nuestro señor, 128, 5; *quando mas se* delecta por las cosas falladas, 230, 2.

b) Que lo bien: e commo lo quisiese tirar a la parte de las mogeres, por *que lo mal* trayesen ellas e lo echasen de la eglesia, 11, 27.

3. **a) Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** enpero non *que ellos se* fagan peores, por *que tu les* puedes dar, 25, 16; al *que yo me* quiero dar, 28, 14; dizen *que el lo* tiro, 137, 22; si non lo *que tu nos* fazes, 198, 17; *que tu le* desplugieses, 226, 13. 2) **Si.** No example. 3) **Quando, etc.** E *commo el*

le dixiese esto, 39, 8 ; la *qual tu te* dueles, 155, 10 ; *commo yo te* demandase, 210, 28 ; *quando tu la* pegas con engludo, 213, 18.

b) Que, si, quando lo yo. 1) **Que:** por letras de los de Cartaina, que dexasen en pastor de la eglesia de Bona a sant Agustin, maguer *que lo el* non quisiese, 47, 5. 2) **Si.** No example. 3) **Quando, etc.** El tu talante pone nonbre a la tu obra, e *commo lo tu* fazes, asi es estimado, 25, 3.

4. **Que lo — — :** See above, *que lo el non*, 47, 5.

20b.

La Estoria del Rey Anemur e de Iosaphat e de Barlaam.

1. **a) Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** sabe *que non te* consintire, p. 336, l. 18 ; e fuy de los mis ojos *que non te* vea de aqui adelante, 336, 29 ; mandandoles *que non le* feziesen manifiesta, 337, 19 , mandando nos *que non te* feziesemos manifiesta, 340, 2 ; queriendo encobrir *que non los* viese, 340, 31 ; Non te dixe *que non te* dulieses, 345, 40 ; la cosa perdida *que non se* puede cobrar, 345, 41 ; tomar las cosas *que non se* pueden tomar, 345, 42 ; mas aun guardando los *que non los* furten, 346, 3 ; maguer *que non te* aproueche, 350, 24 ; semejame *que non las* podrias fazer, 356, 3 ; E por *que non le* quiso obedesçer, 359, 15 ; que guardan deligentemente *que non los* furten los ladrones, 368, 36 ; E por que conoscas, rey, *que non lo* digo de mi mismo, 371, 26 ; quiero *que non me* preçies cosa, 376, 12 ; Mas por *que non me* dexas, 384, 4 ; e llorando jurauan *que non lo* dexarian yr, 388, 18 ; fasta *que non lo* podiesen ver, 390, 8 ; Ca yo mucho he rogado a dios *que non nos* partiesemos de en vno, 393, 28. 2) **Si :** nin podre auer en otra manera estas cosas, *sy non me* faga christiano, 338, 15 ; yo esta tomare *sy non me la* negares, 354, 24 ; asy commo *sy non le* ouiese acaesçido ninguna cosa triste, 362, 18. 3) **Quando :** el *qual non te* engañara commo cuydo, 344, 3 ; ¿ *commo non la* siguen oy muchos? 352, 33 ; *ca non me* podedes auer por rrey de aqui adelante, 389, 3.

b) Que, si, quando lo non. 1) **Que :** Ruegote *que te non* enperezes en dezir me tales señales, 349, 45. 2) **Si :** empero *sy me non* rrefusare commo a non digno por las mis maldades, 346, 22; E *sylo non* quieres fazer, 358, 14. 3) **Quando.** No example.

2. **a) Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que :** por *que ya me* esta a las puertas, 393, 8. 2) **Si.** No example. 3) **Quando :** *ca nunca me* podras rreuocar de la buena confesion, 364, 36.

b) Que, si, quando lo bien. 1) **Que :** sy non yo mismo *que te asy* ordene e tales cosas te fize, 365, 6 ; E despues sacaron lo dende los *que lo y* pusieron, 379, 39. 2, 3) **Si, quando.** No examples.

3. **a) Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1, 2) **Que, si.** No examples. 3) **Quando:** *commo tu me* echaste en tristeza, 363, 41.

b) Que, si, quando lo yo. 1) **Que :** fizo segund *que le el* dixo, 339, 6 ; las cosas *que te yo* dixe, 345, 39 ; ¿ por qual rrazon la carga *que te tu* apresuras tirar, la quieres a mi poner? 388, 30. 2, 3) **Si, quando.** No examples.

21a.

AMADIS DE GAULA.

Libro I, Capítulos I–XX.

1. a) **Que, si, quando no lo.** 1) **Que:** é ruégovos *que no se os* olvide este lugar, p. 4, col. 1, l. 51; por*que no la* viese llorar, 5, 1, 41; Y mandándolos apartar, *que no se* hablasen, 6, 1, 27; por*que no lo* viesen, 8, 1, 26; Bien há quince annos, dijo el Rey, *que no la* hobo, 11, 1, 39, miraba mucho al rey Perion, no por padre, *que no lo* sabia, 11, 2, 22; y el *que no la* amparare piérdala, 16, 2, 24; comenzó de fuir por la plaza acá é allá entre la espada del Doncel del Mar, *que no lo* dejaba holgar, 16, 2, 58; é jurar *que no me* llamase sino el su vencido, 17, 1, 61; E contó cuanto con él le aviniera en la floresta, sino el duelo, *que no lo* osó decir, 19, 2, 41; é á él digo *que no vos* quite el don, 26, 2, 27; no sé por qué me acometistes, *que no vos lo* merecí, 29, 2, 41; Mucho os ruego, dijo él, *que no me* detengais, 30, 1, 3; Dígovos *que no os* precio nada, 32, 2, 40; No ha eso menester; *que no os* dejaré si no jurais que . . . ., 32, 2, 54; aun*que no me* paresce que caballero debe . . . ., 34, 2, 38; heríalo de muy grandes golpes é muy á menudo, *que no le* dejaba holgar, 34, 2, 46; entendió él en el talante del otro *que no le* hobiera merced, 35, 2, 13; é si por aventura este caballero su hermano, que veis á caballo, fuese vencido, *que no se* pudiese sobre esta razon mas combatir, 46, 2, 22; faz callar aquella cativa gente, *que no nos* dejan holgar en nuestro sueño, 48, 1, 53; é haré *que no os* trabajeis, 49, 2, 34; é vayamos de aquí antes que el diablo acá lo torne; *que no me* puedo sufrir sobre esta pierna, 51, 2, 48; Podria ser, dijo Amadís, *que no os* vernia bien dello, 52, 1, 43; *que no le* hizo Dios tan sin ventura, 53, 2, 36; pero fué acorrido de dos doncellas, *que no lo* debieran amar poco, 54, 1, 34.

2) **Si:** que ninguno lo podria creer *si no la* viese, 49, 2, 53; demandándole perdon *si no lo* habia tanto honrado, 54, 2, 23.

3) **Quando, etc.** é no de venir con gran soberbia á hacer tanto mal á *quien no te lo* merece, 22, 2, 5; é maravíllase *cómo no lo* halla, 36, 2, 19; que vos tengo por loco en dar consejo á *quien no os lo* demanda, 52, 1, 42.

b) **Que, si, quando lo no.** 1) **Que:** si me vos prometeis como rey en todo guardar la verdad, á que mas que ningun otro *que lo no* sea obligado sois, 2, 2, 42; quiso sin vuestra sabiduría entrar por la puerta de *que te no* catabas, 6, 2, 13; Eso, Señor, dijo él, no lo quieras saber; *que te no* tiene pro alguno, 6, 2, 18; E fuése, *que la no* pudo detener, 6, 2, 50; Gandáles, *que lo no* entendia, dijo, 7, 1, 7; Creo, Señor, dijo Gandáles, que los habréis de llevar ambos, *que se no* quieren partir, 8, 2, 16; La Reina era tan agradada de como él servia, *que lo no* dejaba quitar delante su presencia, 8, 2, 57; El hombre bueno, temiendo *que se le no* fuese, envió á decir, 15, 1, 55; es tanto el mal, *que vos lo no* puedo decir, 15, 2, 58; Yo vos digo . . . . *que me no* dejeis en ningun lugar de los mas guardados, 16, 2, 17; y él todo armado, *que le no* fallescia nada, 16, 2, 20; yo vos quiero decir un secreto,

que le no diria sino á mi corazon, 18, 2, 15; la Reina os ruega *que os no* desarmeis sino en vuestra posada, 21, 2, 35; mas de te yo preciar no te tiene pro, *que te no* haga mal, 22, 1, 61; é la espada entró tan dentro por él, *que la no* pudo sacar, 22, 2, 40; pero bien sabia *que lo no* hobiera el otro dél si mas pudiera, 22, 2, 53; ni el trabajo pasado ni las llagas presentes no le quitaron *que se no* levantase, 23, 2, 15; hablando siempre con la doncella, que por él era detenida, *que se no* partiese hasta que pudiese tomar armas, 23, 2, 17; é aun no há siete dias *que os lo no* supiera decir, 30, 1, 31; que aun*que la no* viese, 32, 1, 10; é las doncellas le rogaron . . . . *que se no* partiese de su compaña, 32, 1, 53; yo creo que no hay tan buena ni tan hermosa que á vuestra bondad igual sea y *que la no* hayais, 33, 1, 58; pero no de manera *que se no* defendiese tan bien, que no estaba allí tan ardid que con él se osase combatir, 34, 2, 20; Locura demandó Dardan cuando quiso descender á pié con el caballero, *que se no* podia á él llegar en su caballo, 34, 2, 50; E tomando la espada por la punta, la metió por sí, *que lo no* pudieron acorrer, 35, 1, 42; su soberbia é mala condicion facian *que lo no* emplease sino en injuria de muchos, 35, 1, 48; así que, nada quedó *que le no* dijese, 37, 1, 1; mas que sea con aquella medida *que os no* dejeis así parescer ante los hombres, 37, 2, 31; é bien sabeis vos *que lo no* puede hacer, 38, 1, 21; é no habia hombre que lo viese *que se no* maravillase, 40, 1, 36; mas los dos se tovieron tan bien, *que los no* pudieron mover de las sillas, 43, 2, 37; Señora, sé, aun*que lo no* conozco, 44, 2, 19; Porque no pasará por aquí ninguno que suyo sea, *que lo no* mate, 45, 1, 24; é dígoos, señor caballero, *que lo no* tomo por mengua, 47, 2, 17; é Gandalin llevaba el Enano por*que le no* fuyese, 48, 1, 16; é los otros que los miraban dieron voces *que lo no* matase, 48, 2, 29; é así este como el otro que lo querian herir demandáronle merced *que los no* matase, 48, 2, 40; Lo que será de todos los malos *que se no* emiendan, 48, 2, 61; é agora punad de dar cima á la batalla; *que vos no* dejaré mas folgar, 50, 1, 4; justo es lo que demandais, é *que lo no* fuese, conociendo vuestra mesura, lo haria de grado, 51, 2, 32; aun*que la no* tenga con él, la terné con vos, que lo mereceis, 51, 2, 57; é fué tan mal trecho, *que se no* pudo levantar, 52, 1, 56; cómo Oriana no se osaba apartar de Mabilia por*que se no* matase, 54, 1, 13.

2) **Si**: mas yo no le quitaré *si me no* decís por qué dejistes que guardaba muerte de muchos altos hombres, 7, 1, 51; mas la batalla no le quito *si se no* otorga por vencido, 7, 1, 48; é *si lo no* hacian, descabezábalas, 15, 2, 32; Muerto eres, rey Abies, *si te no* otorgas por vencido, 22, 2, 45, é cayera *si se no* abrazara al cuello del caballo, 26, 1, 7; Cortadle la cabeza *si vos no* diere mi amigo, que allá tiene preso en el castillo, 26, 1, 29; é *si me no* metiere en mano la doncella que le fizo tener, 26, 1, 30; ¡Ay señor caballero, *si me no* amparais de aquella doncella, muerto soy! 26, 1, 25; Pues llegad á él, dijo el gigante, é *si lo no* hiciere, será por su daño, 26, 2, 1; muerto soy *si me no* vengo deste traidor de enano, 30, 2, 8; que jamas le haria amor *si la no* llevase á casa del rey Lisuarte, 32, 1, 24; é *si os no*

diere derecho, otra vez no fagais compaña á caballero extraño, 38, 1, 15; é *si lo no* ficiere, decilde que me venga á ver ante que se parta, 39, 1, 11; é *si lo no* hiciese, con razon podriamos decir ser mas corto de crianza que largo de esfuerzo, 39, 1, 18; é Mabilia le vino á abrazar como *si lo no* hobiera visto, 39, 1, 39; é servirá agora cuando caballero, *si le no* falta mesura, 39, 1, 42; Que la quemaria mañana, dijo el Duque, *si me no* dijese á qué metiese al caballero en mi palacio, 43, 1, 1; Cierto, *si me no* vengase de vos, dijo el caballero, nunca traeria armas, 52, 2, 11.

3) **Quando, etc.** No example.

2. **a) Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** como quiera *que mucho le* dolia, 4, 2, 5; pues *que así te* place, 6, 2, 20; aquella *que tanto te* ama, 6, 2, 22; contra la voluntad de aquella *que agora* vos fará el primero perder, 6, 2, 29; *que así le* pusieron nombre, 6, 2, 54; sé *que mas me* desama, 7, 2, 17; temiendo *que así lo* faria, 10, 2, 51; *que mucho me* son menester parientes é amigos, 11, 2, 8; y *que mucho vos* ama, 13, 2, 29; Cabalgad, Señor, *que poco me* contento deste lugar, 14, 2, 28; del Rey, *que tanto lo* desea, 14, 2, 45; de los buenos *que agora se* saben, 16, 1, 1; el caballero *que allí los* hiciera venir, 17, 2, 30; *que mucho me* haréis alegre, 18, 1, 19; No, dijo ella, *que nunca lo* vi, 19, 1, 46; ¡*que mucho os* deseaba ver! 19, 2, 32; donde hallaron á Agrájes, *que mucho se* aquejaba, 20, 2, 4; así como aquellos *que mucho los* desamaban, 20, 2, 20; *que nunca se* pudo conocer en ellos flaqueza ni cobardía, 22, 1, 52; Pues es el anillo del mundo *que mas le* parece, 23, 2, 43; por*que así le* habia sacado de tantos peligros, 24, 1, 45; Matarla, dijo Urganda, *que mucho la* sufrí, 26, 1, 44; así como lo hará vuestra gran valentía *que aquí vos* vi hacer, 26, 2, 15; Que no te verá mas el *que acá te* envió, 28, 1, 54; é á la alevosa *que aquí os* trajo, 30, 2, 2; del *que agora os* partistes, 32, 1, 18; pues *que tanto se lo* habian loado, 32, 1, 47; por*que así le* loaban, 33, 1, 5; *que así me* ayude Dios, yo creo que no hay, 33, 1, 56; sé *que antes me* consejarias muerte, 33, 1, 53; é Dardan, *que mejor se* cuidaba combatir de pié, 34, 2, 29; aquel caballero *que aquí se* combatió, 35, 2, 16; mas no puedo estar de no facer lo que quisierdes, *que mucho vos* amo é precio, 38, 1, 29; é Galaor, *que así lo* vió caer, 40, 1, 43; é mandó *que así lo* ficiese, 41, 1, 54; Y esto decia Amadís por le traer, *que mucho lo* deseaba, 44, 2, 43; El le respondió que por *qué tanto le* desamaba, 45, 1, 27; como quiera *que así me* veais, 49, 1, 6; la mayor é mas cruel venganza *que nunca se* hizo, 49, 1, 45; La doncella, *que así la* vió, 53, 1, 42; ¡Ay Señora! qué poco seso este, *que así os* dejais morir, 53, 2, 31; é falló allí al rey Arban de Norgales, *que mucho la* amaba, 54, 2, 9.

2) **Si:** é parescia muy hermosa, é tan fresca como *si entonces se* pusiera, 26, 2, 47; pues bien creo yo que entendió él en el talante del otro que no le hobiera merced *si así lo* tuviera, 35, 2, 13.

3) **Quando, etc.** é la doncella de Denamarca, que de parte de Oriana á él venia, *como ya se vos* dijo, 23, 1, 7.

b) Que, si, quando lo bien. 1) **Que:** é por aquel *que te mas* ama, 6, 1,

51 ; que dijo que ya era fecho por aquel *que te mas* ama, 6, 2, 5 ; y preció al caballero *que lo tan bien* guardara, 8, 2, 41 ; é si fué bien recebido no es de contar, é por al semejante ella del ; *que se mucho* amaban, 9, 1, 21 ; Agrájes, *que se mucho* maravillaba quién seria el caballero, 19, 2, 25 ; de aquella *que os mucho* ama, 23, 1, 25 ; bien há diez annos que allí está, *que la nunca* vió ninguno, 26, 2, 44 ; que le dijese quién era su señora, *que la allí* habia enviado, 29, 1, 25 ; E la doncella *que lo allí* guió dijo, 30, 1, 46 ; con grande angustia de Aldeva, *que la mucho* amaba, 30, 2, 60 ; Así me ayude Dios, dijo ella, no sé, *que le nunca* vi que me miembre, 34, 1, 7 ; diciéndome las cosas *que vos mas* agradaren, 37, 2, 37 ; La dueña, *que lo mucho* desamaba, 46, 2, 13 ; é luego se fueron ambos é tomaron sendas lanzas, las *que les mas* contentaron, 47, 1, 37 ; Cierto, amigo, no te preciaba tanto como yo, el *que te aquí* puso, 49, 1, 55 ; Lo que yo mando, dijo Amadís, es que hagas lo *que te mas* pluguiere, 52, 1, 19.

2) **Si:** ambos sois fijos de reyes é muy fermosos ; *si vos mucho* amais, no vos lo terná ninguno á mal, 30, 1, 52.

3) **Quando, etc.** Haced, Señor, en ello *como vos mas* pluguiere, 3, 1, 46 ; é las gentes de la villa estaban por las torres é por el muro é por los lugares *donde los mejor* podian ver combatir, 34, 1, 50.

3. **a) Que, si, quando yo lo. Que :** Eso, dijo la doncella, dejad á mí ; *que yo lo* remediaré, 3, 1, 17 ; que allá os queda otro corazon *que yo vos* tomaré, 3, 2, 28 ; les fizo jurar que en lo *que él les* preguntase verdad le dijesen, 6, 1, 15 ; Sabe, Rey, que de lo *que yo me* reia fué de aquellas palabras, 6, 2, 3 ; haria yo *que él vos* venciese, 7, 1, 50 ; Creed *que yo la* guardaré como su madre lo haria, 10, 1, 53 ; é vió otra doncella con *que ella se* juntó, 13, 2, 2 ; ¡ Ay Señor ! que ese traidor que matastes me ha tenido año y medio muerto y escarnido que no tome armas ; *que él me* hizo perder mi nombre, 17, 1, 60 ; Aguardad un poco, dijo el Doncel del Mar ; *que yo vos* diré dél, 19, 1, 34 ; veis aquí el muy buen caballero de *que yo os* hablé, 20, 1, 4 ; Por tu mal haces este ardimento ; *que él te* pone en este lago, 22, 2, 16 ; *que ella os* ama tanto, que de ligero no se podria contar, 23, 1, 33 ; vos me negastes siempre el anillo *que yo os* diera, 24, 1, 2 ; de manera *que ella se* iba tremiendo, 26, 1, 45 ; Pues pedildo, dijo él ; *que yo lo* otorgo, 27, 1, 46 ; mucho debeis amar á Dios, *que él vos* ama, 29, 1, 9 ; Ni por eso, dijo él, no quedaré de lo saber ; *que yo os* seguiré, 29, 1, 28 ; en mal punto acá entrastes, *que yo os* faré morir, 30, 2, 2 ; Si sé, dijo él, *que él me lo* dijo, 31, 2, 56 ; Haced lo que debeis si lo amais ; *que él os* ama sobre todas las cosas que hoy son amadas, 36, 1, 55 ; por*que ella lo* amaba mas que otro anillo que tuviese, 36, 2, 4 ; é ayudadme á rogar todas lo *que yo le* pidiere, 39, 1, 43 ; Pues mandaldo, *que yo lo* compliré fasta la muerte, 46, 2, 12 ; No ninguno, dijo Amadís ; *que yo me* entré, 48, 1, 61 ; Agora me dejad con él, *que yo le* porné con aquellos que allí yacen, 48, 2, 8 ; é bien vos digo que la espada *que él me* lleva querria mas que todo esto, 51, 2, 31.

2) **Si:** *Si ellos me* cometen, yo me defenderé, 46, 2, 47.

3) **Quando, etc.** que no conocia ni sabia nada de *cómo ella le* amaba, 10, 2, 19 ; Así será *como yo lo* digo, dijo ella, 13, 2, 8 ; que así acaecerá *como yo lo* digo, 13, 2, 15.

b) Que, si, quando lo yo. 1) **Que:** que otro por ti nunca lo sabrá fasta *que te lo yo* mande, 7, 1, 57 ; Señor, mas quiero *que me vos* hirais, 8, 1, 51 ; Señores, sabed la verdad deste Doncel que llevais, *que lo yo* fallé en la mar, 8, 2, 35 ; é pune de vivir con mi padre fasta *que le yo* mande lo que faga, 18, 2, 30 ; é como quier *que te yo* desame mucho, te precio mas que á ningun caballero con quien me yo combatiese, 22, 1, 59 ; é procureis de morar con su padre fasta *que os ella* mande, 23, 1, 37 ; é por las palabras *que te yo* dije le tomaste é le has criado, 27, 2, 7 ; que en qualquiera parte *que os yo* viese era obligado á os querer é amar, 37, 2, 46.

2) **Si:** *Si me vos* prometeis, dijo el Rey, como leal doncella, de lo no descubrir sino allí donde es razon, 2, 2, 30 ; *si me vos* prometeis como rey en todo guardar la verdad, 2, 2, 41 ; Yo vos digo, dijo el Doncel del Mar, *si vos yo de aquí* fuyere, que me no dejeis en ningun lugar de los mas guardados, 16, 2, 17 ; *é si le yo* viere decirle he mas de mi facienda, 29, 1, 21 ; *Si los vos* quereis saber, dijo ella, seguidme é mostrar vos la he de aquí á cinco dias, 29, 1, 26 ; Vedes la doncella, é *si la yo* forzara no me atendiera, 29, 2, 46 ; ¡ Ay traidor ! dijo el caballero, en mal punto me hizo acá venir, *si lo yo* hallo, 29, 2, 50 ; Amigas, dijo él, *si me vos* prometeis, como leales doncellas, de me tener poridad de á ninguno lo decir, yo os lo diré de grado, 32, 1, 41 ; *Si me tú* amas, sé que antes me consejarias muerte que vivir en tan gran cuita, deseando lo que no veo, 33, 1, 52.

3) **Quando, etc.** é como quier que te yo desame mucho, te precio mas que á ningun caballero con *quien me yo* combatiese, 22, 1, 60 ; gran desvarío faríades en dejar para tal honra el mejor rey del mundo é tomar á un pobre caballero *como lo yo* soy, 26, 2, 13 ; *Pues te tú* crees mejor te defender de pié que de caballo, apeémonos é defiéndete, 34, 2, 36 ; Yo bien sentí *cuando me él* desarmó, mas todo me parescia como en sueños, 50, 2, 53.

4. **Que, si, quando lo dios.** 1) **Que:** No example. 2) **Si:** E á vos dé honra, dijo ella, que alegría tengo agora mucho alongada, *si me Dios* remedio no pone, 33, 2, 11 ; *si me Dios* salve, Señor, dijo ella, yo he mucho placer, 39, 1, 30. 3) **Quando, etc.** No example.

5. **Que, si, quando lo — —.** 1) **Que:** Señora, en buena hora nasció el caballero *que vos esta noche* habrá, 3, 2, 11 ; que no habia hombre que lo viese *que se dél no* espantase, 9, 2, 24 ; que no salirá hombre ni entrará *que le yo no* mate, si puedo, 28, 1, 24 ; é ahí albergaron con una dueña *que les mucha honra* fizo, 33, 1, 8 ; E tomando la espada por la punta, la metió por sí, que lo no pudieron acorrer, aun*que se en ello* trabajaron, 35, 1, 42.

2) **Si:** Yo vos digo, dijo el Doncel del Mar, *si vos yo de aquí* fuyere, que me no dejeis en ningun lugar de los mas guardados, 16, 2, 17; y esto probaré yo al mejor caballero del mundo, *si me della* fuese otorgado, 33, 1, 35.

3) **Quando, etc.** No example.

6. **Anomalous examples.** Dios no me ayude, dijo el Doncel, si á mi grado *lo vos* sabreis, ni de otro por mi mandado, 19, 1, 21; No llevareis, dijo él, en tanto *que las defender* pueda, 32, 2, 32; Agora *me no* pesa de cosa que me digais, dijo Amadís, 34, 1, 14; Galaor metió mano á su espada por le poner miedo, é dijo: "O *me tu* guiarás, ó dejarás aquí la cabeza, 39, 2, 33.

7. **Infinitive. a) Por no lo, por bien lo.** 1) **Por no lo:** que *por no se* guardar de lo ya dicho, 4, 1, 31; y dejóse caer *por no le* atender otro golpe, 13, 1, 35; no vos lo otorgara *por no me* loar dello, 46, 1, 24.

2) **Por bien lo.** No example.

b) Por lo no, por lo bien. 1) **Por lo no:** é *por vos no* dar enojo, tengo por bien que quedeis solo en la cámera, 3, 1, 44; atapando los ojos *por le no* ver, 9, 2, 27; é yo pensé que errara en su palabra *en me no* decir que mi padre era, 11, 1, 47; é fuése yendo contra su castillo *por lo no* ver matar, 42, 2, 37; é aquel que me ama *en me no* ver ni saber de mí, 49, 2, 16; ¡Ay Dios! que mal haces *en me no* responder! 51, 1, 13.

2) **Por lo bien:** no tuvo acuerdo *de lo allí* tornar, 2, 1, 38; que por alguna parte dél te entrará alguno *para te algo* tomar, 6, 1, 39; y mas vos digo, que *de la vos* amar, no podríades dello ganar ningun buen fruto, 19, 1, 10; mas *de te yo* preciar no te tiene pro, 22, 1, 61.

21b.

Las Sergas de Esplandian.

Capítulos I–X.

1. **Que no lo:** Pag. 404, col. 2, l. 40; 407, 1, 23; 407, 1, 51; 410, 2, 53; 411, 1, 8; 411, 1, 33; 414, 2, 61; 415, 1, 54; 415, 2, 16; 416, 1, 55; 416, 1, 60; 417, 1, 9; 419, 1, 23.

2) **Que bien lo:** 404, 1, 32; 404, 2, 15; 405, 1, 60; 406, 2, 53; 407, 1, 50; 409, 2, 6; 412, 1, 38; 412, 2, 32; 414, 1, 48; 415, 1, 21; 415, 1 39; 416, 2, 14; 417, 2, 55; 418, 2, 27. **Si bien lo:** 418, 1, 54. **Quando bien lo:** 404, 2, 32; 410, 2, 19; 414, 1, 1; 419, 1, 50.

3. **Que yo lo:** 408, 2, 20; 409, 1, 42; 412, 1, 4; 415, 2, 30; 418, 2, 37; 419, 1, 48. **Quando yo lo:** 404, 1, 25; 405, 1, 55; 413, 2, 17.

5. **Anomalous example.** en tanto salid de esta prisión, dando gracias al poderoso Señor, *que nos*, por bien y reparo de los suyos, suele dar semejantes azotes, 412, 2, 41.

6. **Infinitive. Por non lo:** 411, 1, 18; 412, 2, 46; 419, 1, 24.

22.

Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor.

I. Diego Rodríguez de Almela: Compendio Historial, Cap. cclxxxvij.
II. Historia del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor.

I.

Almela: Compendio Historial.

1. **a) Que, si no lo.** 1) **Que:** criador de todas las cosas que se pueden ver, commo de las *que non se* pueden ver, p. 11, 1, 8; E si tan santo sois *que non me* queredes creer de cosa que vos digo, 11, 27; sabe *que non me* quiere dar el castillo el abad don Johan, 12, 16; diziéndole *que non lo* avía ferido, 16, 11. 2) **Si:** sabe que non me quiere dar el castillo el abad don Johan, *si non lo* tomamos por fuerça, 12, 16.

b) Que, si lo no. 1) **Que:** El abad don Johan estorbávagelo *que lo non* fiziese, 6, 30; e rogávale que le diese la muerte e *que lo non* dexase bevir, 9, 14; Mas pues que te alabas que entrarás el castillo, yo te digo *que te non* çerrarán las puertas por miedo tuyo, 12, 9; Entonçe Almonzor bolvióle el rostro, diziéndole que non lo (*que lo non*, UFG) avía ferido, 16, 11. 2) **Si:** No example.

2. **a) Que yo lo.** No example.

b) Que lo yo: porque yo fío en Dios que lo fará mejor *que lo tú* dizes, 12, 10.

3. **a) Por bien lo.** No example.

b) Por lo bien: e *por lo mas* honrrar, enbiolo al dicho rey don Ramiro de León, 6, 6.

II.

Historia del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor.

1. **Que, si, quando no lo.** 1) **Que:** *que no se* pagasse dél, 24, 31; y el *que no la* tuviere, 26, 24; *que no se* aprovechasse de los caminos, 27, 25; y rogava mucho a Dios que le diesse ya la muerte y *que no le* dexasse vivir más en el mundo, 32, 27; *que no se* podría contar, 33, 8; *que no se* entendían unos a otros, 34, 1; por*que no me* quesistes creer, 38, 4; y mucho más *que no se* puede contar, 43, 24; *que no lo* vea, 44, 1; *que no le* quebrasse el coraçón, 45, 11; *que no se le* quebrantasse el coraçón, 46, 22; tanto *que no se* davan lugar, 51, 15; Y dixo *que no lo* quería más atender, 52, 1; *que no se* esperavan, 52, 9; *que no le* alcançó en la carne, 52, 26. 2) **Si:** sabed que el abbad don Juan no quiere dar el castillo, *si no lo* ganais por fuerça, 38, 30. 3) **Quando:** *quando no le* veía, 25, 2; y *como no se* abría la tierra, 31, 14.

2. **Que, si yo lo.** 1) **Que:** de lo *que yo vos* diré, 26, 22; *que ellos se lo* tuvieron en poridad, 27, 8; *que yo os* crié, 28, 14; *que yo os* daré, 28, 17; hasta *que yo vos* vea venir, 29, 10; *que yo me* quiero tornar moro, 30, 20; aun*que tú te* alabas, 38, 8; *que ellos lo* huvieron a gran maravilla, 42, 13; lo *que yo os* dixere, 48, 12; *que tú te* alabas, 52, 20. 2) **Si:** *si yo se la* cortasse, 49, 32.

23.

SOUHAITS DE BIENVENUE ADDRESSÉS À FERDINAND LE CATHOLIQUE PAR UN POÈTE BARCELONAIS EN 1473.

1. **Que non lo.**
   Con mal, con fortuna *que no le* falese, v. 31.
   Que no te contientas del ombre qu'es viejo, v. 174.
2. **Que bien lo.**
   Ffengir que le plaze lo *que mas le* pesa, v. 158.

24.

COMEDIA DE CALISTO Y MELIBEA.

Actos I–VII.

1. **Que, si no lo.** 1) **Que:** p. 12, 1, 16; 14, 15; 17, 2; 18, 29; 19, 33; 20, 2; 20, 13; 26, 2; 27, 33; 30, 3; 42, 3; 45, 3; 46, 20; 53, 17; 54, 2; 54, 3; 56, 26; 58, 2; 59, 33; 60, 27; 63, 7; 64, 10; 74, 9; 79, 12; 80, 25; 80, 32; 85, 20; 88, 22; 94, 11; 96, 12; 99, 21; 99, 33; 100, 8; 102, 6. 2) **Si:** 52, 3; 64, 1; 82, 32; 87, 21.

2. **Que, si bien lo.** 1) que mas . . . , 8, 23; 50, 1; 55, 26; 79, 13; que assi, 21, 22; que mucho, 74, 31; que bien, 96, 12; 97, 6. 2) si aqui, 20, 3; si bien, 64, 16.

3. **Que yo lo, si yo lo.** 1) que yo, 26, 30; 37, 21; 41, 5; que tu, 11, 24; 53, 21; 55, 22; que el, 100, 1; que ella, 23, 4; 46, 32. 2) si tu, 58, 20.

25.

JUAN DE VALDÉS: DIÁLOGO DE LA LENGUA.

1. **Que, si, quando no lo.** 1) **Que:** p. 343, l. 24; 345, 5; 346, 2; 346, 32; 348, 21; 352, 8; 352, 30; 354, 10; 355, 34; 360, 45; 360, 46; 361, 5; 363, 21; 376, 2; 367, 17; 368, 6; 368, 29; 369, 36; 371, 31; 371, 38; 371, 38 bis; 376, 22; 377, 1; 377, 21; 379, 22; 380, 10; 380, 31; 380, 31 bis; 382, 13; 382, 30; 382, 40; 390, 20; 390, 35; 390, 37; 391, 10; 398, 17; 398, 28; 402, 10; 403, 24; 405, 30; 410, 20; 411, 11; 411, 14; 411, 26; 411, 32; 413, 19; 416, 37; 417, 20; 418, 12; 418, 33; 419, 1. 2) **Si:** 343, 14; 348, 18; 350, 12; 361, 1; 364, 20; 370, 18; 370, 34; 376, 32; 382, 8; 394, 15; 406, 3; 407, 6; 418, 24; 419, 3. 3) **Quando:** 354, 2; 354, 4; 358, 34; 369, 9; 390, 39; 411, 14.

2. **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** 339, 14; 345, 26; 346, 7; 346, 25; 347, 13; 350, 19; 361, 7; 362, 18; 362, 23; 362, 34; 369, 32; 369, 44; 377, 12; 398, 15; 411, 12; 417, 6. 2) **Si:** 343, 26; 381, 20; 384, 14; 397, 7; 417, 24. 3) **Quando:** 353, 7; 372, 20; 411, 17.

3. **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** 339, 16; 345, 21; 345, 23; 345, 28; 349, 14; 368, 8; 373, 36; 387, 36; 391, 6; 409, 4; 408, 10. 2)

Si: 350, 9; 375, 28; 383, 20. 3) **Quando**: 369, 18; 399, 32; 410, 13; 418, 15.

26.

LAZARILLO DE TORMES.

1. **Que no lo**: p. 6, l. 5; 19, 27; 22, 7; 28, 20; 33, 9; 42, 12; 42, 13; 43, 4; 57, 21; 59, 9; 66, 3.

2. **Que yo lo**: *que yo la*, 37, 27; *que el lo*, 43, 17.

3. **Por no lo**: *por no lo*, 12, 8; 13, 24; *en no se las*, 15, 9; *por no me*, 21, 20.

27.

LUIS DE LEÓN: LA PERFECTA CASADA.

1. **Que no lo**: p. 8, l. 2; 10, 5; 11, 23; 15, 29; 19, 3; 20, 25; 22, 28; 23, 9; 31, 24; 46, 23; 47, 11; 51, 27; 51, 30; 53, 30; 53, 30 bis; 56, 21; 57, 11. **Si no lo**: 42, 22.

2. **Que bien lo**: 3, 28; 7, 15; 32, 21; 34, 28; 35, 28; 38, 6.

3. **Que yo lo**: 4, 2; 6, 24; 31, 23; 32, 3; 37, 30; 38, 13.

28.

CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA.

NOS. I–XV.

1. a) **Que non lo.** A emperadriz, *que non vos* era de coraçon rafez, Cant. v, stz. 21, v. 4. Assí *que non ss'* afogov, XIII, 3, 8.

b) **Que lo non.** Por no mar deital-a, *que a non* deitasse, IX, 12, 1. **Si lo non**: Ca *se o non* fezermos, en mal ponto uimos seu solaz, v, 17, 4. **Quando lo non**: *Ca sse non* deteueron nenllur, XV, 18, 6.

2. b) **Que lo bien**: De *que vos iá* diss', v, 4, 2; Quero seruir, *que me nunca* á de falecer, v, 26, 6; Et de *que sse máis* pagaua, VI, 4, 3; Tod' aquesto *que uos ora* dito, XV, 13, 1. **Quando lo bien**: *Como x'ante* uiolaua, VIII, 7, 3.

3. a) **Quando yo lo**: ca nos lo guardamos de malfeitoría, IX, 9, 5.

4. **Que lo** — — Do ángeo, *que lle* falar foy, et disse "Coytada," I, 5, 6; *Que ll'* aquel gaffo traëdor fora bastecer, v, 22, 6; Per nulla ren *que ll'* o Emperador dissesse, nunca, quis, v, 26, 1; Ca por*que lles* non sofrer quería de mal fazer, VII, 2, 3; En o dia *que a* Deus foi coröar, XII, 1, 5; *Que me* nas sas mãos sofre, XIII, 5, 7; *Que m'* o laço non matov, XIII, 5, 8; *Que lles* este feito foi contando, XV, 18, 5; *Que ll'* un caualeiro branco dev, XV, 19, 2.

Si lo — — *Se sse* d'algun mal sentia, IV, 10, 4; Et *se t'* aqueste pan non refeiro, XV, 6, 7.

Quando lo — — *Pois ll'* este don tan estranyo ouue dad' e tan fremoso, II, 5, 1; Mas o Emperador, *quando o* atan mal parado uyú, v, 7, 4; E *quando a* no monte teueron, falaron ontre sí, v, 10, 3; O marynneiro, *poil-a*

en a barca meteu, ben come fol, v, 16, 1; Ant' o Apostólog' e ante uós, *como os* feitos á, v, 24, 3; *Pois s'a* dona espertou, VII, 2, 3; E *ú ll'a* alma saýa log' o demo a prendía, XI, 4, 1; fazer *quanto ll'* en prazer for, XV, 1, 8.

5. **Anomalous examples.** Mayor miragre do mundo *ll'* ant' esta Sennor mostrára, II, 3, 2; Et *se* guarida achou, VII, 4, 2; Esto *vos non* sofreremos, VIII, 7, 8; Por quanto mal *nos* ele buscaua, XV, 11, 4.

29.

DOM DINIZ DE PORTUGAL: CANTIGAS D'AMOR, I–L.

1. a) **Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** . . . se soubesse *que nom lh'* era tam grave, Deus foss' em loado, v. 970. 2, 3) **Si, quando, etc.** No example.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non.** 1) **Que:** *Que me nom* quer' end' eu doer, 25; . . . *que vos nom* mereci outro mal, 63; des entom morte *que mi nom* quer dar, 143; *que vos nom* posso nem sei dizer qual, 274; *que se nom* perdess' ant' o sem, 491; ca sei eu bem *que mi nom* falára, 507; des *que a nom* vi, nom er vi pesar, 527; *que me nom* julgue por seu traedor, 637; *que lhi nom* ouve Flores tal amor, 700; *que me nom* ajam d'entender, 714; des *que se nom* guisou de a veer, 980. 2) **Si:** e *se mi nom* fosse maior prazer, 271; *se a nom* vir, nom me posso guardar, 755. 3) **Quando:** *ca me nom* pod' escaecer, 740; *pois me nom* queredes tolher, 746.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** *que nunca vos* mereci por que tal, 79; *que nunca vos* dissesse rem, 104; Ca tal é *que ante se* matára, 521; ca sabedes *que nunca vos* falei, 575; e que me nembra *que bem a* oi, 750; desi sabem *que nunca vos* errei, 823. 2) **Si:** No example. 3) **Quando:** E nom sei *quando vos ar* veerei, 213.

b) **Que, si, quando lo bien.** 1) **Que:** O *que vos nunca* cuidei a dizer, 572; o *que vos ja* perguntei outra vez, 810; *que mi nunca* fezo nenhum prazer, 967. 2) **Si:** *se lh' o assi* guisasse Deus, 494; ca mi falar *se o sol* cuidára, 522; *se m' agora* quizessedes dizer, 809. 3) **Quando:** *quando m' agora* ouver d'alongar, 43; de *quanto lh' ante* cuidára dizer, 150.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1, 2) **Que, si.** No examples. 3) **Quando:** *quant' eu vos* amo, esto certo sei eu, 706.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que:** aquel maior *que vo-l' eu* poss' aver, 65; por muito mal *que me lh' eu* mereci, 132; Assi nom er quis *que m' eu* percebesse, 138; o demo lev' a rem *que lh' eu* falei, 149; *que mi vos* poderdes fazer, 466; em *que vo-l' eu* podesse merecer, 619; *que vos eu* podesse contar, 732; *que vos eu* vi, 960. 2) **Si:** se nom *se mi vos* fezessedes bem, 676. 3) **Quando:** que vos viss' eu, *u m' el* fez desejar, 142; se de *qual bem lh' eu* quero cuidára, 509; *qual vos eu* ei, 701.

4. **Que, si, quando lo — —** 1) **Que:** Mais tanto *que me* d'ant' ela quitei, 151; Senhor, pois *que m'* agora Deus guisou, 201; Quant' a, senhor, *que m'* eu

de vos parti, 424 ; E des *que m'* eu, senhor, per bõa fe, de vos parti, 429 ; *que m'* eu de vos parti, no coraçom, 436 ; Pois *que vos* Deus, amigo, quer guisar, 541 ; E pois *que vos* Deus aguisa d' ir i, 551 ; *que vos* gram bem nom ouvess' a querer, 631 ; com *que m'* oj' eu vejo morrer, 739 ; d'omem *que lhi* par pozesse, 788 ; se nom o bem *que vos* Deus deu, 802 ; quando nom quis *que lh'* outra foss' igual, 841 ; *que vos* em grave dia vi, 851. 2) **Si:** *se o* eu a vos nom disser, 111 ; *se o* a vos nom fôr dizer, 119 ; *se vos* grav' é de vos eu bem querer, 290 ; *se o* Deus quizesse guisar, 322 ; Ca sabedes que *se m'* end' eu quitar, 627 ; *se me* Deus ant' os seus olhos lavar, 635 ; *se mh* a sa *mui* gram mesura nom val, 648 ; por vos, *se vos* est' é loor ou prez, 813. 3) **Quando:** *qual vos* sol nom posso dizer, 98 ; e *pois me* Deus nom val, 190 ; *pois vos* Deus atal foi fazer, 316 ; E *pois vos* Deus nunca fez par, 318 ; *Quem vos* mui bem visse, senhor, 482 ; E *quem vos* bem com estes meus olhos visse, 489 ; *como mh* a mi *o* foi guisar, 495 ; por *quanto m'* oje mha senhor falou, 504 ; d'aver eu mal d'*u o* Deus nom pos, nom, 612 ; Senhor fremosa, por *qual vos* Deus fez, 807 ; mal, *pois vo-l'* eu, senhor, nom mereci, 827 ; *qual m'* eu por mha senhor vejo levar, 914.

5. **Anomalous.** ca sei que sentiredes qual mingua *vos* pois ei-de fazer, 4 ; desi nom *o* er podedes enganar, 70 ; ca el sabe bem quam de coraçom *vos* eu am' e *que* nunca vos errei, 72 ; ca logo *m'* el guisou que vos oi falar, 126 ; e tod' aquesto *m'*el foi aguisar, 129 ; a lh'o dizer, e *me* bem esforçei, 155 ; com quaes olhos *vos* eu vi, 483 ; d'al, ca nunca *me* d'al pudi nembrar, 528 ; pero *mi* tod' este mal faz sofrer, 532 ; pero *m'* este mal fez e mais fará, 538 ; seu mandado oi e *a* nom vi, 639 ; Cedo ; ca pero *mi* nunca faz bem, 754 ; e por quam boa *vos* el fez, 790 ; que nunca *vo-l'* eu mereci, 857 ; e *m'* el nom fôr ajudador, 866.

6. **Infinitive. a) Por bien lo:** *de nunca mi* fazerdes bem, 932.

b) Por lo non: *de mh a nom* querer, 40. **Por lo bien:** *de m' agora* guardar que nom, 85 ; *sem vo-lo nunca* merecer, 871. **Por lo — —:** e *pela* mais ca mim amar, 172 ; . . . *de vos* eu bem querer, 290.

30.

ESTORIA TROYÃA.

Págs. 95–113.

1. **a) Que, si, quando non lo.** No examples.

b) Que, si, quando lo non. 1 **Que:** en gisa *que a nõ* vissen, p. 96, l. 19 ; et peço vos merçéé *que vos nõ* pese nẽmo teñades por mal, 101, 29 ; como quer *que vos nõ* plaz de falar en este pleito, 103, 16 ; mays chegavãsse ja tãto áás tẽdas *quelle nõ* podia falar assua vóóntade, 103, 29 ; mays Achiles a*que sse nõ* olvidava oque afazer avia, 109, 24 ; Outrossy tã grã covardiçe tomava enssy *quelle nõ* ousava dizer nada, 111, 26 ; gardarlo ey eu omellor que poder *que o nõ* partirey de mĩ, 113, 5. 2) **Si:** No example. 3) **Quando:** ffaçome maravillada *como seme nõ* parte este coraçõ per mille lugares, 96, 7 ; et fazelles sofrer tã graves coytas que son par de morte *caos nõ* leixa dormir, 111, 9.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** Ca moytas vezes oy falar de moytos *que nũca sse* virã nẽ sse coñosçerã, 101, 18 ; *que aduro sse* poden encobrir, 103, 2. 2) **Si.** No example. 3) **Quando.** No example.

b) **Que, si, quando lo bien.** 1) **Que.** No example. 2) **Si:** que eu faria torto *selle mal* quisesse, 108, 7. 3) **Quando.** No example.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** Et porque desamades tãto vossa vida, *que eu vos* faço çertos que . . . , 95, 6 ; et dy a Breçayda, que y acharas, *que eulle* enbio este cavalo, 107, 13. 2) **Si.** No example. 3) **Quando.** No example.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que:** Et ja deus nũca queyra *queme eu* traballe de amar nẽ de servir outra, 101, 36 ; nẽ entendades *que vos eu* leixo por outra rrazõ, 103, 9 ; desto *quelle eu* envio dizer, 107, 16. 2) **Si:** et dille que *se me el* quer ben, que eu faria torto, 108, 6. 3) **Quando:** Talera omãto da donzela *qual vos eu* dixe, 98, 24 ; Et *quandosse ela* ouvo a partir de Troylos, 100, 12.

4. **Que, si, quando lo — —** 1) **Que:** Ca seu falla nũca ẽno mũdo sera cousa *que vos* tãto de coraçõ ame como eu, 97, 10 ; Como aqueles *quesse* moy de coraçõ amavã, 98, 3 ; Et por*que vos* eu todo tẽpo sera rretraida et posfaçada, 104, 6 ; pero aynda tamaño ben nõlle quero por *quelle* ael mellor váá do que ante lle ya, 108, 8 ; por este cavalo *que me* ẽ outro dia destes, 112, 11. 2) **Si:** et *seme* algẽ pregũtar quaes erã, 100, 8 ; vay et dy ateu señor que *se me* el ben quer como diz, quemo demostra moy mal, 107, 30 ; sabade (*sic*) que *selle* este pleito moyto durara, cõvééralle de morrer, 111, 13 ; Et *seo* ben nõ gardardes, toste vos lo poderã tomar, 112, 28. 3) **Quando:** Et *quando sse* anbos ouveron apartir, 101, 2 ; Et vos sodes . . . . tã pááção per *como me* amĩ semella, 103, 5 ; Et *poys vos* ja aco cõ migo teño, nõ averey que temer, 105, 28.

5. **Anomalous.** Et seme rreçeberdes por vosso amigo nũca *vos* ende verra senõ onrra, 101, 31 ; Et se el esto fezesse senpre *lle* ende ben verria, 107, 33.

31abc.

VIDA DE EUFROSINA, VIDA DE MARIA EGIPCIA, EXTRAITS D'UN TRAITÉ DE DÉVOTION (Textes portugais du XIV^e Siècle).

1. a) **Que no lo.** No example.

b) **Que lo no.** EUFROSINA. Depois que viram *que se nom* demostrava, p. 362, l. 21 ; E ella cobrio assua face por tal *quea nom* conhoçesse, 363, 6 ; *que te nom* despreçara Nosso Senhor, 363, 18 ; Rogote *que me nom* leixes, 364, 28 ; por*quete nom* mostraste? 365, 11. EGIPCIA. Eute Rogey, padre *queme nom* costrangesses, 373, 8 ; mais assi como aaz de cavaleyros estava contra mĩ *que me nom* leixava ẽtrar, 374, 16 ; e por*que me nom* achou tornousse, 378, 29 ; defendendolhe *queo nom* fezesse, 379, 4 ; Gloria seia aty Nosso Ssenhor Deus *que me nom* fezeste minguado, 379, 10 ; e creeo *quelhe nom* farya mal, 380, 30 ; TRAITÉ. e dãme tam grã tormento (seu) e espanto

queo nõ sey dizer, 382, 23 ; *que se nom* podya del partir, 386, 6 ; e disselhe quese fosse, *quelhe nom* querya dar sua filha, 388, 20 ; desque vio *quelhe nõ* prestava nada, 390, 8.

2. **a) Si no lo.** No example.

b) Si lo no. EGIPCIA. Quem onunca vira nẽ houvira *sselhe nõ* ffosse demostrado, p. 370, l. 8.

3. **a) Quando no lo.** EGIPCIA. *Ca nom vos* sserey ssem proveyto, 373, 21.

b) Quando lo no. EGIPCIA. *como me nom* sorveo byva, 373, 33. EUFROSINA. e *quando anom* achou, 361, 27.

4. **a) Que, (si, quando, etc.) bien lo.** EGIPCIA. *que nunca sse* ajuntavam, 368, 27. TRAITÉ. ora me dam tam grande quentura *que todo me* fazem tremer, 382, 23 ; cuydando *que nũca lhe* felleceryã, 385, 20 ; *que tanto se* asenhorava dell, 386, 5.

b) Que lo bien. EGIPCIA. porque sse vyo chamar per sseu nome, *quem onunca* vira ne houvira, 370, 8 ; *que me nunca* viste, 370, 25 ; e torneyme aaquella *queme ally* trouvera per ffe, 375, 9 ; E assy *como te ante* Rogey, 377, 21. TRAITÉ. Assy que poucos som os que, se atal tenpo lenbrã do quelhes cõpre, *queo cõpridamẽte* ajam, 382, 8 ; desque virom *que se tanto* detiinha, 382, 36.

5. **a) Que (si, etc.) yo lo.** EGIPCIA. *que tu me* ffosses demostrada, 372, 1 ; Quando ho santo homẽ vyo *que ella lhe* fallava de Regla, 377, 34.

b) Que (si, etc.) lo yo. as quaes *sse as tu* quiseres seguir, 336, 27 ; Eu sey, *sete eu* começar acontar, 372, 12 ; e hir me ey *hu me tu* mandares, 374, 38. TRAITÉ. E el indo pera veer se era ja morto em hũu forno *ondeo ell* mandara meter, 382, 15 ; nada do*quelhe ell* dizia, 390, 8.

6. **a) Que (si, etc.) dios lo.** TRAITÉ. *que Deus lhe* perdóou, 383, 17 ; *que Deus lhe* avia perdoado, 388, 24.

b) Que (si, etc.) lo dios. EGIPCIA. Depois *que me esto* aconteçeo, 374, 17. TRAITÉ. aquello *quelhe Deus* mãdara, 386, 30 ; emna cidade de Ninive *comoa Deus* queria destroyr, 386, 25 ; pera véér *comoa Deus* querya destroyr, 386, 31.

7. **Que lo — —.** EGIPCIA. Ssenhora minha, no leixes nẽhũa cousa *que me todo nom* descubras, 376, 11. TRAITÉ. Esta arvor senifica este mũdo ẽ *que se ho homẽ* deleyta, 384, 7 ; por aquello que*lhe oydollo* avia dicto, 388, 21.

8. **Anomalous.** TRAITÉ. Ay, amigos, *que mal me ora* julgastes ! 382, 37.

32.

VIAGGIO FANTASTICO IN PORTOGHESE.

1. **a) Que, si, quando no lo.** No example.

b) Que, si, quando lo no: E por *que o nom* fez visorei, p. 291, l. 8 ; nem os filhos dos senhorios dos teus reinos *que se nom* casem, 292, 33 ; e temeraas *que te nam* aconteça outro, 293, 2 ; et lhes parecia *que se nom* emtemdiaõ hũs aos outros, 295, 20.

2. **a) Que, si, quando yo lo.** No example.

b) Que, si, quando lo yo. et estauam em duuida se era aquillo que viam asi *como o elles* viam, 294, 44.

3. **Que lo — —:** por hũ agrauo *que me el Rei meu pai fez,* 290, 10; per consentimento de algũs da cidade *que o na alfandega* meteram, 290, 23; tornaram a zerca por certas frechas *que lhes nella* ficaram, 295, 14; et ha quatro annos *que se delle nom* sabe parte, 296, 16.

4. **a) Que — — no lo:** por que tempo vira *que* teus filhos *nom se* achara(m), 292, 11.

b) Que — — lo no: tuas novas será ouvidas por todo o momdo, ate *que* as pessoas *as nam* queiraõ ouvir, 292, 2.

33.

CONTRIBUÇÕES PARA UM ROMANCEIRO E CANCIONEIRO POPULAR PORTUGUEZ.

1. **a) Que no lo.** *Que não se* pódem cantar, p. 115, No. 4, b, v. 4.
   b) Que lo no. Que ha muito *que a não* vi, p. 105, col. 1, l. 2.
2. **a) Que yo lo.** *Que eu lhei* porei os botões, p. 108, No. 4, b, v. 4.
   b) Que lo yo. Neste leito em *que me eu* deito, p. 105, No. 7, b, v. 9.
3. **Anomalous.** *Que* a minh'alma *se não* perca, p. 105, No. 5, v. 9.

34.

ROMANCES SACROS. ORAÇÕES E ENSALMOS POPULARES DO MINHO.

1. **Que no lo.** Permitti *que não me* engane, p. 266, col. 2, l. 33.

2. **a) Que (si) yo lo.** *Que eu vos* darei boas novas, p. 265, l. 6; *Se elles se* derem bem, p. 267, col. 2, l. 26; *Que ella lhe* sararia, p. 275, No. 25, col. 2.

b) Que lo yo: *Que me eu* fõr deitar, p. 268, col. 1, l. 2.

3. **Que lo — —.** *Se te agora não* convertes, p. 267, col. 1, l. 7.

4. **Anomalous.** Para *que* o diabo *me não* esqueça, p. 266, col. 2, l. 5.

35.

CANTIGAS POPULARES AÇORIANAS.

1. **a) Que no lo.** Para falar ao meu amor Já *que não o* vi de dia, No. 39, v. 4.

b) Que lo no. Só para contar as horas No tempo *que te não* vejo, 78, 4; Você diz *que me não* quer, 141, 1; Mil trabalhos te persigam, *Que te não* possas valer, 147, 2.

2. **b) Si lo no.** Se me lavo, sou doidinha, *Se me não* lavo, sou porca, 19, 4.

3. **a) Que yo lo.** As penas *que vós me* dais Deus as sabe, eu as sinto, 41, 3.

b) Que (quando, etc.) lo yo. Vai-te lenço, *onde te eu* mando, 74, 1.

4. **a) Que (si, etc.) — — no lo.** Cresça-me elle na ventura *Que* no mais *não se me* da, 22, 4.

b) Que (si, etc.) — — lo no. *Se* os meus olhos *te não* vissem, 95, 1; *Se tu me não* enganasses, 98, 3.

5. **a) — — no lo:** Quem morre do mal de amores, *Não se* enterra em sagrado, 23, 2; Quem eu quero *não me* dão, 20, 3; Você passa, *não me* fala, 48, 1; Os olhos que d'aqui vejo *Não me* armem falsidade, 60, 2; O meu peito *não se* abria, 95, 3; Meu coração *não te* amava, 95, 4; A demora que tiveram Foi *não me* verem mais cedo, 129, 4.

b) — — lo no: Quem me dão *me não* contenta, 20, 4; Você passa, *me não* fala, 49, 1; Sou tão triste, *me não* lembra se fui alegre algum dia, 55, 3; Você se vae, *me não* deixa Dinheiro para gastar, 110, 1.

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